

Dungannon

Political and Military
OBSERVATIONS,
REMARKS
AND
MAXIMS,
OF
Charles V.

Late Duke of
L O R R A I N,
General of the
Emperor's Forces.

From a **Manuscript** left by him,
and never Printed before.

*Iustum bellum quibus necessarium, & pia arma
quibus nulla nisi in armis relinquitur Spes.*

Tit. Liv. hist. l. 9.

London, Printed for *J. Jones* at the Dolphin and
Crown in *S. Paul's Church-yard*, and *W. Hawes*
at the Rose in *Ludgate-street*. 1699.

TO THE
Right Honourable
ARNOLD JUSTE,
Earl of *Albemarle*,

Viscount of *Berry*, Baron of
Keppel and *Asbford*, Master of his
Majesty's Wardrobe, General of
the *Swissers*, and Major General of
the Horse in the Service of the
States General of the United Pro-
vinces.

My Lord,

NOT only the Per-
sons of Princes, but
the greatest Monuments
of their Glory, have pe-
rished, excepting their
good Works, and wise
A 2 Say-

Sayings , which Fame
hath handed to Posterity
from one Age to ano-
ther.

Thus are come to light
the Papers of *Charles* the
V. late Duke of *Lorraine*,
General of the Emperor's
Forces Writ by him. I,
thought it Injustice to
confine them amongst my
Papers, therefore have ad-
ventured to give his
Thoughts an English
Dress, they were never
Printed till now. This
Country, where he was a
Stranger, is the first Place
in which they see light ;
where having need of a
Noble

Noble Protector, I took the Liberty to present your Lordship with the Translation in Manuscript, and thereby had recourse to your Lordship's Favour, that this Illustrious Stranger's Spare-hours might find that shelter and Countenance, which his great Character calls for.

This Prince was so active, that he could never find leisure to be idle, even in his Retirements from Affairs he would have some Subject to imploy himself. It is observable that the noblest Works of

the Creation are most Active: Activity was so innate to him, that the Sun might as well stand still, or the Sea cease from its Motion, as this Prince desist from giving himself Imployment.

You will find, my Lord, that Variety that may divert ; they being Miscellanies that give more delight, than a continued Series of Matter. These will be acceptable to many, especially to such who to this day, make his Actions the Subject of their Conversations.

His

His Notions and Maxims carry Worth in them, so may deserve your Lordship's Protection, they need no Encomiums. And though some may not have the like Apprehensions of this Prince's Works, yet it may suffice, that he was a Soldier, and that they dropt from the Pen of a Prince.

The *Scotch* History tells us, That one of their Kings, while confined, did scratch with his Nails the History of our Saviour's Passion on the Wall; which rough Draught being done by Princely

A 4 Hands,

Hands, was more preferrable, than what might have been done of that kind by the most celebrated Masters.

He was not only valued for his Illustrious Birth, as being of the best Bloud of Christendom, but revered for his great Qualities, for which his Person was had in so great Esteem, and intituled to double Honour ; for he was not only born a Prince, but was also an experienced Captain. Such was his Conduct and Perfections, that each were so many Immortalizers of his Fame ;
and

and, with the old Hero's,
he hath scattered his Tro-
phies in the Fields of Vic-
tory, of whom Fame hath
mustered Catalogues, and
with them he hath filled
the World with Applause ;
so that the Chronicles are
so many standing Records
to his and their Glory : For
the Exploits of War have
something of more splen-
dour in them, than those
of Peace.

These retired Thoughts,
which his Memory hath
regist'ed from Observati-
on and Practice, are given
to the Publick, as I found
them, to change their
Form

Form, would have been presumptuous. The Courage, Civility and Humanity, that appeared in the course of his Life, discover themselves here in this Treatise. In his own Country, they need no Protection; his Fame being so celebrated, though his Conceptions are Strangers there. As his Person fled for refuge to *Germany*, so his Works do now to your Lordship for Sanctuary from the ill Usage of a Censorious and inhospitable World; though his Actions are so many Monuments of his Fame, yet they

they need your noble Protection; which I am the more encouraged to supplicate, in that you will find many Things not unknown to your early Experience. And though Things have daily improved since his Time, yet here are never dying Observations, that will be ever of Use in all Ages.

My Lord.

You are one of those from whom this Age expects great Things; for you did early promise so much, which makes that, the Eyes of all are upon you, who with me wish,
that

that Fortune may always
smile upon you: That as
you have advanced in the
Temple of Honour, so
you may in Favour with
God and our great King,
to the Good of the Nation,
the Honour of your An-
cient and Illustrious Fa-
mily, and the great Joy of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble,

and most obedient Servant,

Rupert Beck.

To

TO THE
READER.

T*His Work is of that Nature, that generous desires may thereby be ingendered in the Reader. The Subject is Peace and War, Civil and Foreign, with Observations according to the Nature of the Subject. Here are also Maxims drawn from Experience.*

Each may here find what is required in their different Stations, from the General to the Com-

To the Reader.

*Common Souldier, who through
a generous Emulation may
raise his Fortune.*

*Here are Precepts for
Peace and War, amongst which
are several Things, that speak
our Prince displeased, and in
a complaining Tone of some
hard Usage, which he thought
he had received from a Great
Monarch, between whom there
was some Misunderstanding.
Without doing wrong to his
Memoirs, I could not omit
his Expressions; but some
Grains of allowance may be
had to the Circumstances he la-
boured under, having to do
with so Potent a Neighbour,
That not only our Author, but
even*

To the Reader.

even all Europe hath been alarmed at the great Progress his Arms have made. And to speak the Truth, Great hath been the Advantage that the House of France hath had from this their present Monarch's so long Reign; who, to do him justice, were he not a King, yet is he Great in his own Person, and wonderfully qualified to sit at the Helm of Empire, being so much Master of the Art of Reigning.

By the Observations that are found here, all Persons, in whatever Province they move in, may find that which will affect them, so as to be fearless in War, happy in Peace

To the Reader.

*Peace, and to reign in the
Hearts of Friends and Ene-
mies: And to be loved, ho-
noured, and feared, so that
they may say with M. Au-
relius, That where Vertue
hath acquired the Love and
Affections of the Subjects;
that there can be no want of
Men or Treasure.*

*To conclude, the whole
here may be seen, how to act
in Peace and War, so that in
Adversity or Prosperity they
may neither presume, nor des-
pair.*

Poli.

Political and Military
Observations, Remarks,

AND

M A X I M S,

OF

CHARLES V.

Late Duke of Lorrain, &c.

PEace is that tranquil, and
sedate State, where all
things did breath gently,
lived quietly, and moved in an
harmonious Order; till it was in-
terrupted by *Lucifer*, when he
rebelled against his Maker, and
seduced Man; and as he lost
Heaven for himself, so he occa-
sioned Man to be turned out of

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his

Observations, &c. of the

his primitive peaceable Condition, who, by siding with the Seducer, did intail misery on his Posterity, who were made Slaves before they knew what Liberty was.

Thus *Adam* intail'd on his Posterity, to be exercised with all manner of Evils; so that Happiness seems but a Shadow, an airy, imaginary Nothing, which while we think we grasp, it scapes us. These are the sad Effects of inherent Corruption, from whence came all the Dissensions private, and publick, that jostle out Peace at Home, and Abroad, with God, and with Man; so that never any Country could boast of being exempted from this sad Fate, but sooner or later hath had the turn of the Wheel from Peace to War, which by intervals have succeeded each other

late Duke of Lorrain.

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other: This is the Subject on which I will make some Reflections in their Order. And first

Of Peace.

WHich is one of the Sovereign Blessings of this Life, as being the Treasury of temporal Felicities, and is as Youth to Age, Light to Darkness, and as Health is in opposition to Sickness: It is the Heavenly Blessing, and was our Saviour's last Legacy, *my Peace I give unto you.* The Angels could not find a better Wish for Mankind in their Anthem to the Shepherds, than that of Peace, which is the Calm in opposition to Tempest, and order to Confusion, and is the Summer that

B 2 makes

makes every thing Florish. This Sovereign Blessing, where it is extended, spreadeth its Wings not only over particular Persons, but even whole Nations are Influenced so by it, that their Rivers Flow with Milk and Honey; and through its bonds of Concord, and Union, People and Countries are kept and linked together in Amity; and every thing where it Reigns is thereby increased so, that each may enjoy themselves, and their Families under the Shadow of their own Vine, and Reap the benefit of their Labours, and so Live on the Fatness of the Earth, by which they are Nourished and Maintained; whereas War is the Consumer and Destroyer of all. Peace is so Valuable, that Triumphs are not to be compared to it, which though
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it were an unjust one, yet is it more desirable than a just War; so that they who have two Dwellings, would part with one to procure it, that thereby they may Live in quiet. This Peace is a Blessing never valued till gone: It is like harmony in Musick, the Disturbers of which, ought to be Cut off as Enemies to Mankind, and numbered amongst the Wicked, whose Death is the safety of the Good. No Treasure can be better employed than for its Preservation; such only desire not Peace, that would profit by Fishing in troubled Waters: It makes small things increase, when by discord Men are hurried and precipitated to the greatest Destruction.

They deserve Censure that involve themselves in an uncertain War in expectation of an uncer-

tain Good; by changing Peace for War, in expectation of a common Good, they expose to Misery all that are Imbarked in it with them. This is turning our backs against our own Happiness, and opening a Door to Destruction. But such is Man's unhappy transitory State, that there is nothing so desirable but time may find a cause to dislike it; nor is any so in Health, nor so Strong, but they may expect a change: There is not such a preservative in Nature that can banish Corruption, but it will grow in the Body politick as well as in the Humane; so that one Hour hath sometimes produced great alterations: Therefore as the one hath its Prescriptions for Health, so hath the other its Preservative which is Religion; wherefore it is here recommended, as the best
bottom

bottom, to establish the Health and Peace of the Commonweale; for where Religion does Reign, there good Government and Peace is likeliest to Flourish.

Though there be no fence against Vicissitudes, yet a well-constituted Government may conduce much to prevent alterations, whether in respect of its

Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military State. All which have a natural Dependence on each other; and though *Religion* be out of the Province of a Soldier, yet shall I adventure to Speak my Thoughts of its use, as being so necessary an ingredient to obtain the desired End, *viz.* good Government.

Religion is the foundation of a Commonwealth, without which, a Government cannot Subsist, but will fall to Decay; there can

be no surer sign of its Ruine, than when it is Contemned: It is the true and well-tempered Cement that links, unites and binds together, and ought to be the first thing that should be imbibed by Men. Without Religion, there can be no settled Government Established, which may sufficiently evidence its Necessity.

Therefore those that intend to be obeyed, must before all things prefer the settling Religion in their Country, as being that which hath the greatest influence upon the Spirits of the People to charm them to Submission; It is a holy Policy to make Men stoop to the Magistrates, and is the Bridle, and a Restriction even to Heathens, who are more Zealous Observers of their Laws, and more obedient, which
may

may shame Christian Rulers as well as People. It may not be a Digression to observe here, That though a Prince may dissent in matters of Religion from his Subjects, yet Prudence requireth of him, for his and their interest, to suffer the Religion of the Country; for Mens Conscience are gently to be let, not driven and imposed on. The little Foxes that spoil the Vineyard are to be taken, not destroyed, Arguments, and good Examples are better Nets to take the Multitude, than Fire and Faggots; the imposing on Mens Consciences is a sort of Tyranny, and a vain attempting to scale Heaven by wordly Ladders. But where a Prince is bigotted by his Levites, he is carried away even to the eclipsing and un-manning of his Person, by whose
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Instigations he becomes a Tyrant over Consciences, and is an Usurper of God's Prerogative, who will only Reign there. A Prince ought not to be possessed with the Spirit of Persecution, as being not at all becoming his Character: For there is no Religion that hath not those that would not Sacrifice their all in testimony of the Truth, of what they profess; and though they differ, yet they all agree in this, that their Scope and ultimate End is Heaven; neither is it material whether we go one way, or the other, so we get but thither. To shew a Traveller the best and safest way to his Journey's end, is not to use Compulsion or Blows; but with Humanity and Gentleness, and by well-wishing Motives, shewing the advantages of the one, and the

the dangers, and inconveniences of the other, and rest there, without being so anxiously concerned that any particular Sentiments be followed above the rest. Also it may be an inducement to consider, That the Toleration of Religion is a great benefit to trading Countries. If you disturb the Bees, they will leave of carrying in Wax and Honey, and betake themselves to another Place, where they may do it with more safety. Thus, as by not suffering Liberty, many flourishing Countries have been Impoverished and Depopulated; so, on the other hand, Liberty is the Inricher and Incourager of Nations, and the Increaser of Wealth, and number of People, in which consists a Prince's Riches, as well as Safety.

And

Observations, &c, of the

And to speak as a Man of the World unacquainted with tender Sentiments for Piety that Duty requires, who beholds all Religions a like, and looks upon them to be no more than a jolly Invention, contrived to muzzle the Subjects, and keep them in Awe, yet ought he not to slight those sacred Artifices, though his Conscience may not move, yet let Policy induce him. For it is a Prince's Worldly, as well as Spiritual interest to be moderate in injoyning his Sentiments in matters of Religion; and if he thinks that Religion is prejudicial to his Prerogative, yet let him at least retain the shadow of it, and consider that external Holiness procures awful Regards, and that it is both an inward and outward Charmer. Therefore let a Countrey always have
have

have such Spiritual Leaders as are true, and not pretended Chaplains to the Prince of Peace; such Torches as are saying Lights, not Firebrands, whose Tempers are mild and soft, and whose Breathings are pacificatory.

A good Government is a good foundation for Peace, which is likeliest to flourish, where Reason and Religion Reigns; it requires no less Prudence to preserve Peace, than Valour to obtain it. That Countrey is likeliest to be best preserved, where the Prince knows how to Govern, and the People to Obey: That place is Happiest where the Subject feareth to offend, without which restraint, Commonwealths would prove but so many unweildly un governable Bodies. In order to a well constituted State, two things are requir'd, viz.

Re-

Rewards and Punishments.

Without a due Distribution of which, according to the Merit or Demerits of the Persons concerned, Virtue will flag, and Vice predominate. That Prince who Rewards nothing, Purchases nothing: Where Valour and Merit meets not with due encouragements, Men will be unwilling to attempt notwithstanding all their Courage; for it is certain, that Benefits well bestowed establish a Kingdom, when Services unrewarded unhinge it: For as Wisdom and Courage begets admiration in a Prince, so Veracity, Courtesie, and Liberality do stir up and awaken the Subjects Affections.

Also Princes and Magistrates should encourage noble Actions,
Arts

Arts and Inventions, and promote Trade, as being the true means to enrich the People. Thus the Princes and Subjects Interest should be the same, without by respects; the Princes good being the Peoples, and the Peoples the Princes.

< He Reigns best that Reigns as he ought, and though placed aloft in the seat of Sovereignty, yet should he condescend, and take cognizance, and look down on the Humble and Oppressed; the redressing whose Grievances is as much his Honour as Safety. His Ear should be always open to the Cries of Complainants, to deliver them from the rapine of Oppressors, and his Heart full of Compassion; lending one Hand to support, and the other to avenge their Injuries. It is a most unhapy thing for a Prince, when
the

the People are always upon the complaining Key; he must needs be in a perpetual Anxiety and Fear, and constantly upon the Tenters, seeking ways to secure himself. For God hath been so Merciful to Mankind, that nothing is safe for a Prince, but what is Honest and Just; whose Security depends on his good Government, by which means Glory is acquired, and his worldly Interest secured: When on the contrary, from Evil conduct accrue Disgrace and Shame, and thereby all is exposed to Ruine. It is very justly, that good or evil Managements are attributed to the Prince; he being the Soul to the Body, from whom the rest of the Members receive Light and Vigour, or as the Spring that gives Motions to the rest of the Work.

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In order to Reign Peaceably and Honourably, with security to both Prince and People; there must be a strict Hand of Justice Maintained: For where that is Obstructed there necessarily follows a depravation of Manners, and a justling out of Faith, Honour and Morality; by which a Door is opened to Licentiousness; to prevent which *Trajanus's* Example is a great expedient, *who would make choice of none to sit at the Helm, but the Wise, Prudent and Good; nor would he place in Military Employments any, but such as were experienced, and of known Courage and Conduct: Even his Courtiers had the Character of being Modest, Debonair and Courteous.

But it is too Common to have such put in Places of Trust as are

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Unfit;

Unfit ; the Observation of which caused *Caligula* to propose the making his Horse Burgermaster of *Rome* ; alledging, That so beautiful a Beast might as well become that Station, as some of those placed there ; and would be a less detriment to the Publick, whose Faults they need not fear would hurt the Citizens. A modest Reproof, and an Advertisement for time to come, to make choice of more fit Instruments, than that of Men that act like Beasts. Experience hath shewn in all Ages, how fatal the Choice of unfit Instruments hath been to the common Good, of which the Avarice of those that have had the disposal of Places was the occasion : For as they have purchased at a dear Rate, and came in without consideration of personal Merit ; so they sell Offices by retail : Thus
Money

Money is the Qualification, and the greatest Ignorants may thus be preferred before Men of desert : But great Good accrues to that Government where useful Instruments are chosen, whose Business shall be to promote the publick Good, in opposition to Flatterers, such who are unbiassed, whose Fidelity neither promises, nor Threats can unhinge. But where those Caterpillers, called Flatterers, bear sway, no Good can be expected ; much better it is to fall amongst ravenous Birds, than into the Clutches of such Harpies : It may be said of some, as it was said of *Cæsar*, that he govern'd the World, but that *Fostina* govern'd him ; so Flatterers, when they have gained an ascendant over the Prince, that though he governs the People, yet they over-rule him. It was

Pope *Pius* II.'s complaint on his Death-bed, when his Sycophants gave him hopes of Recovery, that the misery that attended Princes was great, since they could not hear Truth from those about them, though at a time when the Knowledge of it was most useful. These flattering Hypocrites are the Plagues of Princes Courts, and with Justice deserve the Epithet, as having no Religion but Self-interest, and worship for God their Mammon, to whom they are more faithful than to their Sovereign. It is to that Idol, and to Greatness, that they pay Adoration, nor will they know any other Deity, but they make them their ultimate End. How do Princes hereby make themselves contemptible? And are expos'd to the censure of being pusillanimous for being thus led
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at pleasure; which speaks their want of Courage as well as a Deficiency of other Regal and Princely Qualifications; which occasions that Remissness, and Lenity by which they are exposed to be cheated: It is also an inlet to Irregularities, that gives an occasion to think as if they feared to do Justice, lest they offend thereby their Parasites; thus not only the injured Subject suffers, but also the Prince in the Opinion of his Subjects.

It is also very essential to the Preservation of the Peace, and Prosperity of a People, that Princes be their example of good, as being their Looking-glass, whose Examples are Precepts, whether good or evil; which work more upon the Vulgar than National Laws. Therefore they should be

bright and shining Lights, to lead the way to Virtue; the same should be all those they intrust with Power, without which they will be but so many *Ignes fatui*, that lead the Ignorant astray; where Virtue is not the Standard, there Common-wealths are made the seat of Vice, which might have been the stage of Virtue.

It is the Stay of a Commonwealth, that the Magistrate knows to use his Authority; for the Eyes of each are on him as a publick Dial that regulates adjacent Clocks; so Subjects steer their Actions according to their Morals; and though there may be Reasons for repealing and changing Laws, yet while they stand in force, they should not be suffered to be broken, that it give not occasion to have them contemned; and so become of
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no more effect, than so many Scare-crows with which those Birds, whom they should banish, become familiar even to perch upon the Head of what before was their terror; having by experience learned, That they are no more than toothless Bugbears. It is not sufficient to have wholesome Laws, but they must be put in practice to restrain the Disorderly. For there are a sort of restless Men never satisfied, no not even with their own Choice, such who like the Rainbow always oppose the Sun. Be the Government what it will, they are for contradiction still, aspiring after what they enjoy not. These are the eternal Exclaimers against all reigning Establishments, and are the Diseases in a Commonwealth, which, as gangrened Members, ought to

be removed, or cut off for the good of the Body. They are the Vermine, Excrements, and Nuisances, of whom Nature should discharge itself as of a common grievance; following the president of that Prince who, would have that Horse killed, whose fiery Temper gave disquiet to his Camerades. With more Reason, factious Men ought to be exemplarily punished, as being the more dangerous sort of Brutes, whose restless Tempers would be of worse consequence were they suffered to take Root, therefore should be early mowed down, or nipt in their Bud: Or at least their Sting should be taken from them, that their Poyson may not swell that Part they would affect. Lenity in a Prince on such Occasions, may be of ill consequence to the Publick; and
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as Tyranny may be fatal, so may Lenity be the ruin of a Government: And though a Prince may not find it necessary to see, nor hear all he may see, or hear, and that Prudence will, that he dissemble the Knowledge of many Things; yet there is a time that Justice must take Place, That evil may be restrained, but so as to prevent Despair; lest the Exasperated finding all hopes excluded should awaken Revenge to the desperately overturning all before them: For as Oppression weakens the Government, so that Prince loses his Reputation, when he retaineth no more of the Regal Qualities than the name, and pomp of State, that outward appearance gives him. Where a Prince is loved, feared and obeyed, there the Government thrive and flourish; for in Union
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consists the Strenght of the Body Politick, who as our Bodies are composed of several Parts, each having assigned them their different Offices for the good of the Whole, to which order they all submit and agree; so that if one Part or Member is offended, the other participates, and are not angry at each others Acts: But if a foreign Power wound an Eye, tread on a Toe, or hurt a Finger, the whole Body shall be affected so, as to discover each their Resentments. How will the Eye shew its anger, the Nose shrink, the Mouth exclaim, and the Hands fly to the assistance of the grieved Part? The Feet, even the whole Body, according to the danger, take the alarm. Thus each Part sympathises, in the common Good or Evil that relate to the whole: Thus each one should

should be concerned for the common Good of that Republic of which they are Members. It is observable, That amongst irrational Creatures, there is not found that discord as amongst Men; they do not devour and destroy those of their own kind, in which Men are worse than the worst of Brutes; for they tear and devour each other, in which their Shame they glory.

For the promoting this Union, the Prince should be circumspect, patient, and quick in dispatches, shewing his Power and Justice to some, and his Humanity and lenity to others, and not fly out when Things answer not the proposed Ends, but to be armed against Disappointments: For no Ship, though steered by a skillful Pilot, will in bad Weather always answer the Helm.

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Therefore since every Countrey hath its mixtures of good and bad, such Caution ought to be taken, as to connive at what cannot be helped ; and seem not to see, when seeing may eclipse Authority if not exercised. It was our Saviour's Advice in the parable, That the Tares should not be rooted out, lest it indamaged the Wheat. Therefore Prudence would rather yield to Fate, and shut the Eye and Ear, and bend rather than hazard breaking. The Emblem of *Hercules* his boisterous managing the Rudder till it broke, may be of use to shew how the Steersman may spoil the Ship's sailing for the want of a prudent compliance ; and yielding to the circumstances of times, is the interest both of Prince and People. *Machiavel* tells us, That he who cannot dif-

dissemble knows not how' to reign; not that Insincerity and Hypocrisy is proposed to be the Standard for the Prince to walk by: But here is intended such a Compliance only as may consist with Honour, and the Peoples Interest. There is an honourable Condescension, or yielding, till a fitter Opportunity may offer it self. Princes sometimes deal with their Subjects as with Children, whose weaknesses are born with, till can be got from them that hurtful Play-thing, they so passionately cry after.

Neither should a Prince heap riches to the unease of his People; let them shear, but not flea their Sheep. Where is the Honour to have beggerly Subjects? As he is the Head of the Body, he ought to have a Regard, that they that represent his Authority, do
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not abuse it by wounding the Feet ; for when they are infebled what shall support the whole ? To prevent which, Covetousness is to be discouraged ; for a Prince is never so rich as when he hath his Peoples Hearts, then he needs not question their Purses. The publick Interest is to have none placed in Authority, but such as are deserving ; none should be empowered for favour nor affection ; and when the Prince hath made a fit choice, they should have due encouragements to answer the Character they bear in the Government ; That to support their Grandeur, want may not tempt to take Bribes. But where Virtue is found, there suitable Rewards ought to be given according to the Character born ; that the Salary and liberality may be spurs to Virtue, as their Princes
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favours are encouragements: There is no greater balk to Emulators, than to see Recompenses wrong placed on the Heads of the Undeserving: It is a great encouragement when a Prince shall of himself make Observations of the fidelity of his Subjects. To accumulate riches on the Rich, because they are such, is like carrying Water to the *Rhine*, or Gold to *Peru*. But Wisdom will direct when and where to place Favours proportionable to the Character of the giver and Person to whom the Largeſs is made, that exceptions may not be taken that merit was not recompens'd, and that regard was rather had to Favour, and By-respects, than to Desert; which is not only a shame to the giver, but a Discouragement to such that have deserved well. Thus regard is
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to be had both how, and to whom, as well as what, gifts are disposed of: For such may liberalities be, That the giver may be impoverished, and instead of gaining Friends may draw upon himself Enmity; so that even those to whom he hath been liberal to save their Stakes may join with Exclaimers, and turn to ridicule that bounty shewn them; and that Gift they called liberality, when they received it, shall with the common Vogue be styled a profuse wasting that Treasure, that might have been preserved for better purposes: Such lavishings merit rather the Name of Squanderings than Liberalities, and in a Prince, as condemnable as Covetousness: But where liberality is guided with prudence, it redounds to the benefit of both Prince and People.

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It is also conducive to the publick wellfare that proper Instruments for council be chosen, such as are wise and faithful, in whom Covetousness doth not pre-dominate ; for where that reigns no good can be expected, as being the Gangrene of the mind, that eateth out Love, Duty, and Honour ; therefore should have no more a Place at the Helm than Pride, or Envy: Also such ought to be removed as shall not from a peak and spite, in opposition to an others sense, seek out Reasons to overthrow the best advice given, and that because it was not first proposed by themselves. Where there is passion there is bandying, and clashing with Words ; and no good success can be expected from these, no more than from those that can not see, but with such Spectacles

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as are handed to them at the Board by some leading Oracle, without further weighing matters; being wholly Byassed by the Opinion they conceive of their Friends Parts, though many times the wisest may not always be in the right. There are also some that see no farther than that Counsel they take upon trust: These are Ecchos; while others are for fetching Reasons a far off, in order to the effecting what is proposed, overlooking more easy methods at hand. These know not how to approve any thing, that carrieth not some thing of extraordinary in it. But none are more dangerous at the Council Board than these that waite to catch at the Prince's Sense, which they are sure right or wrong to approve, and make his Thoughts Theirs. These Flat-

Flatterers are not sufferable in that station where none but the unbiassed and sincere should take Place, and not Sycophants. But there are few Princes whose Courts swarm not with these; also who have not their particular *Achitophels*, yet will not believe they are so influenced. But a too over-weening Opinion of any, how acute soever, may be fatal. But there are others so opinionative of their own Sense, that they will call a Council only for formality sake; though at the same time they resolve to take no Measures, but what their own Judgement dictates: Methinks I hear such say, with *Xerxes*, I called you that I might not seem to follow my own Advice, but it is rather to injoin your obedience than ask Counsel. There are also some that, with *St. Peter*, after the act

is over, are for consulting, and with him crying out, *Shall I draw?* When before he had cut of *Malchus's* Ear, but none are so wise but may need advice; *for in the multitude of Counsellors there is safety.* For Strength, Riches, and Diligence do not always succeed, but it is by Counsel, and Prudence, that great things are compassed. Such Persons therefore should be made use of, as are skilled in the Nature and Distemper of the Body Politick; such that like true Physicians of State may prevent Weeds from taking root, that the publick Peace be not destroyed; such as can foresee State-Diseases by their Symptoms, before they become incurable otherwise than by violent Remedies. Such as are of *Frederic the Third's* Stamp and Approbation, who

who valued those Counsellors most, that feared God more than himself, who had for end, the Peace and Welfare of his Empire. There is no greater safety for a Prince, than to have the Government stored with such: Then will he be obeyed, and Peace secured; which Peace, how desirable in it self soever it may be; yet it hath attending it Pride, Idleness, and Danger: For under a long Peace, Princes and Subjects become secure, and Effeminacy, Lust, and Prodigality creep in; so that even the most disciplined Armies lying still may degenerate, and like the best of Horses pampered; and through want of exercise, do loose their good Qualities. Nothing contributes to ruin a Nation, like Lust, and Pleasure: When Princes grow potent un-

der a long Peace, they usually confide in their Strength, and are tempted to unjust Enterprises, whose sinister Effects fail not to follow sooner, or later.

Thus far of Peace, how it may be kept at home against the Snakes of their own Bosom, which may prevent War from abroad; yet something may be spoken in particular of Peace, as it relates to neighbouring Princes.

He that will live in Peace with his powerfull Neighbours especially, must suffer, and not take every thing in the worst Sense; but give a grateful Twine to that, which at another Time, and under other Circumstances, might be called an Injury; therefore all Occasions of Contentions are cautiously to be avoided. Also he that will enjoy Peace with his Neighbours, must always be pre-

prepared for War : The Hedgehog is ever armed against his Enemies, and there are few Animals that carry not their offensive and defensive weapon about them : As the Ox his Horn, the Bear his Tooth, and the Lion his Paw.

The prudent Prince will lay up Treasures against the time of need, by such insensible Methods, that the People be not oppressed, and that occasion of Discontent be not given, and that what shall be accumulated, be not wasted by worthless Persons, nor misemployed in fruitless, and unprofitable Contrivances; but regard is to be had, that all Opportunities be improved : Loose no time, was great *Cæsar's* Motto, for delays are dangerous; and as Health, and fair Weather, are succeeded by Sicknes and Storms;

so War succeeds Peace. *Solomon* tells us, of *a time for every Thing*; therefore when Peace gives leisure, store your Magazines with warlike Munitions, that nothing be wanting upon a Surprise. It is the Security of a State, always to have an Eye on War, in time of Peace. Keep therefore a Nursery of Officers of Known personal Merit: It is the unhappy Fate of many deserving, to be laid aside in Peace, as if never more to be needed; and like Stoves in Summer, are not regarded. But though the Sun shines now, yet stormy Weather is to be expected, and a regard ought to be had to past Deserts. Also an Inspection ought to be made into the Condition of the standing Forces, that there be no imposing false Musters: A minute Account should be had of them, as
also

also of the Stores, and that from time to time aview be made, also tryals, and draughts should be frequent, the better to know what is to be relied on. Thus to preserve Peace at home and abroad, is to be always ready, and by the help of able Ministers, Inconveniences may be forseen, and approaching Dangers prevented, by administering Sutable Remedies answerable to the present Pressures

Also in peaceable Times to fortify Places, may secure the Countrey from Wars at home and abroad; the Reputation of being armed, may prevent both. It is strange how Men are diffident of God, yet dare confide in sinful Men; and by a Remissness in that kind, give Opportunities to their Countries Ruin. It is the simplicity of the Lamb, or Goose, that lets them fall into the
the

the Wolf and Fox's Paws. The Tortoise, diffident of a foreign Shelter, carryeth her House, by Sea and Land, wherein she places her safety. It is not in our Days as in *Noah's*, Ark where Men and Beasts could sociably Live and trust each other; he that never trusts, stands on a Guard, and is not easily deceived. It is observable, That Peace lasts no longer than it consists with the Aspirers Interest. There are some restless Spirits that will not be quiet till beaten into good Manners, to the unease of their unhappy Subjects. But we must not only consider Peace as a long enjoyed Rest, where there hath been for many Years no Hostilities, but as it immediately succeeds War; and shew, how after both sides are wearied by War, the usual Methods of procuring it, are by the project of Treaties.

Of

Of Treaties, and Negotiations of Peace.

TO manage which, such proper Instruments are to be chosen, such as are well acquainted with their Neighbours Interest as well as their own; and also with the Genius of those they have to treat with. If it be a powerful State that holds the Rod over you, then a Confederacy of neighbouring Princes is necessary to prevent being swallowed up a prey to Ambition. There are some Ministers so well versed in politick Strokes, and Conter-pates to know how to turn and wind matters, that they shall gain more by Treaties, than Conquerors shall effect by Feats of Arms. Many times
Peace

Peace hath retrieved those Advantages, which the Sword had lost: But in Treaties Clergy-men are the worst choice; who, like evil Spirits, ought to be conjured out of the circle of Negotiations, and from having a share in managing the Civil Government, lest they confound all measures of Peace: For they make the worst Statesmen, who though they have the Voices of Doves, and have nothing less than Peace in their Mouths; yet they bear Stings in their Tails; they come with Olive-branches in their Beaks, but Experience hath taught that wherever they come to sit at the Helm, they occasion Discord and Confusion.

Many times to serve a turn, Sham Treaties are set on Foot to gain time, where much is offered, though little intended more than delusory Amusements to compass
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By-ends; of these blinds; the prudent Plenipotentiary is watchful, lest instead of a Cordial, he meet with a purgative Potion. All State-engines ought to be considered, as so many Buyers of Wares, who to compass their desired Commodities, seldom speak as they think; but this our Statesman, being acquainted with the Interest of each Power, and the Politicks by which they steer their course, will know how to turn the Mill that way, that may best answer that Quarter the Wind sits in. Lesser Potentates should Act with potent Neighbours circumspectly; especially when they have to do with such whose Maxims are, That their Princes ought not to be Slaves to their Word; and that Truth and Sincerity are but vulgar Vertues: It is those that are to be suspected, let their manner of acting
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appear never so frank and open: For such can steer their course by all Winds, and will scruple at no means, how illegitimate soever, to compass their Designs of crushing others, and clothing themselves with their Dominions. These are they, whose Ambition hath no Bounds, but what necessity compels them too; against whom, as Common Enemies to Property, all adjacent Potentates should arm and unite, to support each others Interest. Nothing can be more uneasy, than when a Prince, or State, is placed between two Emulators for Empire; to carry even betwixt them, and to give jealousy to neither, is a hard Game to play; and those so concerned run a Hazard of being ground in pieces between such Rocks. It is therefore requisite to be always in good Intel-

Intelligence with those they may have occasion to use as Confederates, or Mediators, that the power of over-growing Greatness may be balanced ; that they may not, after the example of greater Fishes, devour the lesser fry of States, that lie in their way ; which, if suffered, may be of ill consequence to such, as stand by as Spectators' ; lest their turn be next to put on that Yoke they suffer their Neighbours to be yoked with. It is surely the common Interest of Princes, to be jealous of Incroachers and Incroachments ; being evil Presidents that in time may affect themselves as well as their Neighbours, who by stopping that current they serve themselves. If two Powers, Emulators for Empire, should jar and jostle each other ; then it is the common Interest to
let

let them clash and contend to their weakening, provided standing Spectators lay not a Foundation for future Breaches. Such surely was the reserved Policy of *Innocent X.* when desired to mediate a Peace betwixt two Contenders for Empire, gave Cardinal *Panziolo* to remark out of his Window, two Porters fighting, whom he would not suffer to be parted till they thought fit to leave off themselves; saying, Thus will the contending Princes do, when wearied, they will leave off without a Mediator.

Amongst the many Cautions to those that treat, something might be said of the Interest of such lesser States as have contests with Neighbours of their own Rank, who ought to avoid janglings, so as their Differences
arise

arise not to an open Rupture. Some proper Mediator therefore ought to be found, to accommodate Differences; so as the Honour of each may be preserved: For if the Contest arise to Hostility, it may prove of fatal consequence to both, and give occasion for a predominant Power to profit by the Difference, and annex them both to his Dominions; and serve them as the Bird of prey in the Fable did the Frog and Mouse, who seized of both. Neither should lesser States call a superior to be an Assistant, least he serve himself, and not the Proprietor; of which History hath on Record various Examples, of those that made ill use of such Opportunities, and instead of serving the Interest of those that called them as Assistants, they made them-

E selves

selves Masters. Therefore it is best to avoid all Occasions of difference, and not be obstinate to wreak a Spite, but to accept of such Terms as may be obtained, and suffer the loss of a part rather than expose the whole.

But there are sometimes such Peaces proposed, that an open War is more desirable, and less to be feared. Neither can Peace founded on unjust Conditions be long-lived; which are like ill cured wounds that fester and prove the Patients greater Disease.

Neither is a new reconciled Enemy to be trusted, especially if he hath been the Aggressor; for such seldom pardon the Injuries they have done themselves; because they believe they can not be forgiven. Let the Fox cover himself never so artificially with a Lamb's Skin, yet the wary
will

will dread him. Neither let any Inducement charm the Sword into its Scabbard, nor perswade to a too early disbanding Forces: That Shepherd deserves Censure, that will hearken to the Wolf to send away his Dogs.

Having said something of Peace at Home, and of preserving it by necessary Cautions with neighbouring Potentates, and of security by Treaties, the desired hope; and though occasionally something hath been hinted at about making Leagues, yet it may be necessary to make further some addition on the same Subject.

Of Leagues.

ALthough Alliances are good yet those are to be pitied that stand in need of them; and should consider with whom Leagues Offensive, and Defensive are made. Unequal Powers in affinity may be of ill Consequence; for the weaker Lies at the mercy of the stronger, and is tempted to seek redress from another Power capable to protect him: For Confederates have divers Faces; it is their Tails only that are twisted together. When the Sheep become the Lions Associates, their Skins usually pay for it; for between Unequals there can be no equal Confederacy. The Great have great Designs, the Lesser such as are
futa-

sutable to their different Stations; one gives, the other takes. Disparity makes the unwilling unwillingly condescending, and as with the dividing the Spoil got in hunting, in a common Confederacy of the Beasts, the Lion will claim so many Parts and pretended Rights, that he will leave his Companions to stand by as Spectators, silently to dispense with their Rights, and suffer their irremediable Losses, without discovering the least Resentment. For what can be alledged, when the Character of a King, Merit and Prowess is pleaded, and after that of his Will not to be controlled? What can his modest Companions do less than make a Vertue of necessity, and suffer their Rights to be disposed of, how unjustly soever Ravished from them? Thus the

powerful profits to the loss of the weaker Competitor. This comes by being tyed to the Interest of a Potent Allye; who instead of a Helper finds a Master, such will know no Partners. Therefore it is of ill consequence for lesser Powers to be reduced to, joyn with the Stronger; though it may sut a present occasion. Alliances with such Confederates contribute to Augment that Power, that when time serves, may be made use of, to inflave themselves: For when such Confederates have secured their ends, what can they expect more than that Fate, that *Polyphemus* gave *Ulysses*, of being Devoured the last?

Another Inconveniency annexed to lesser Powers, when embarked in League with a more powerful, is that, whenever the

the same greatness comes to
juffle, and contend as Competi-
tor with another of equal might;
then the lesser by Virtue of the
Confederacy, is exposed to all the
Streights and Desolations, that
attend Hostilities. And if the
formidable Power suffers, and
bends under the Weight of the
Adversaries Arms, what less can
be expected, than to be Sunk,
and Buried in his Ruins? There-
fore a prudent Diffidence is to
be had of all Compacts, wherein
Safety is Exposed. It is true, that
to prevent foreseen Evils, neces-
sity doth sometimes oblige to
Imbrace for Allye a more power-
ful Party; and when a Prince's
Word is once Ingaged; it is
confessed, That it is very Disin-
genuous, not to say worse, to
break Covenants Solemnly Sti-
pulated; but that is not here the

Question: For^{as} as they can not be justified, so shall I not wholly Condemn the Breaking those Leagues, which incroaching Confederates have Necessitated: For there may be such Reasons drawn from Self-preservation, and the hard Terms imposed, that though the breach of Oaths can not be justified; yet they may admit of a most favourable Construction: For Oppression and necessity may extort such Terms, that the Prince would Sin against his Person and Subjects, should he inviolably keep them, so that though the making them at first was an evil; yet the breaking of them seems a less, than that of their keeping: So that although the breaking sinful Oaths may not be Scrupled; yet the making any Illegitimate ones is to be Condemned; as being

ing that which with Honour and Justice can not be Maintained.

It may be observable, That those with whom Leagues are made, ought to be such, that we may be assured they are Friends, that in distress will be a reciprocal Help, and not be Biassed by Fear or Lucre. A true Friend, like Blood, springs forth as soon as the Wound is made. It is observed, That Swine, when they hear their Follows cry, will fly to their assistance in Danger: Therefore the Lion would make no League but with that Herd, that in Necessity is so faithful. Leagues are never so likely to be Religiously observed, as when made with such, as are not too much superiour in Power; they are nice Things, and though a Remedy against Danger; yet themselves are a Danger, though pre-

present Circumstances sometimes call for them. In such Junctures, the Prince is to arm himself with Caution, that he repent not, and seek to break Compacts so solemnly exchanged. But God ought to be consulted; for if he ties not the knot, the bond of Peace will soon be unloosed.

Of War.

AS Peace vanishes, so War takes Place, each followeth the Heels of the other; as the one sets, the other overspreads the Horizon; and as Darkness succeeds Light, so War succeeds Peace.

Amongst the many infinite perfections God discovered of himself to Man, that of Immutability

tability is only peculiar to the Deity ; since no created Beings, how excellent soever in their Nature, but were made liable to change, and left to a possibility of falling from that State in which they were placed. Thus *Lucifer* from a glorious Angel became a Devil ; it is matter of Astonishment, That in Heaven, where he was placed in the highest Orb of Happiness and Peace ; that he could not be content, but must rebell against his Maker. It is matter of Wonder, That even Heaven, where the God of Peace reigns, should not be exempt from Rebellion, and since the Fall, it seems, as if Opposition were the very Essence of all created Beings. How are the Elements in Hostility ? How doth the Earth quake ? The Sea roar ? the Air thunder, and the Brutes

Brutes wage War against each other? The Greater devouring the Lesser. And no wonder, That Men are drawn in, having such Prompters as the Devil, and their own perverse Natures, that they can not without jarring, live in neither City, nor Neighbourhood. How early did this Enmity shew it self? For, even in the Womb, *Jacob* and *Esau* struggled for Mastery, and when born, what feud was there betwixt these two Twins in their Father's Family? That, not agreeing, they were forced to be separated, till length of Time had worn out their Animosities. Also a Father and Son, *David* and *Absalon*; a Kingdom could not contain them, but one must Rival the other for Empire: And which is more, *Cain* and *Abel*,

Abel, though they had the World betwixt them ; yet was their Discord Fatal. Thus Satan as from the beginning, so to this Day, he persists in fomenting Dissensions ; setting Man against Man, Family against Family, and Nation against Nation ; putting all into Confusion by Broils and Wars ; through which Riches are exchanged for Poverty, and Sorrows are introduced in lieu of those Delights that accompany Peace ; who as it is the Health of a State, and a Nourisher and Incourager of Arts ; so is War its Sickness, and the Discouragement of Ingenuities : For in the midst of Noise and Hurry, none can expect sutable returns of Vertue, where Dissoluteness seems to be let loose, to make way for Pride, Strife and Contentions, and where every one labours to make his

his Neighbour his Prey. Thus where War is, there Misery overflows, like an impetuous Torrent, carrying away even to the very marks of Prosperity that Peace had formerly left its Inhabitants:

*There are two kinds of War,
viz. Civil, and Foreign.*

CIVIL War is usually the Daughter of a bigotted Zeal for a publick Good, and feigned Liberty and Property; it is from intestine Broils that proceeds Irreverence and Disobedience, and through the depravetness of Nature and manners justice, Majesty and Laws are trodden under Foot to make way for Spoil, and setting up some private Interest; or to wreak some

some conceived spite : Such are like those Fishers that find advantage by casting their Nets in troubled Waters. Intestine Heats, if not timely quenched, may prove the Destruction of Empires, and are worse than foreign Wars. And as Diseases within the Body, are more to be feared than remoter Grievs ; so Civil War is attended with more sinister Effects, than that from Enemies abroad ; for where the Bowels of a State are disaffected, there the Father is against his Son, and every Man's Sword against his Fellow ; and as a House divided cannot stand ; so the Ruin of that State may be expected, where one Member wounds the other, to the Hurt of the Whole. These Wars, called Civil, are the most Uncivil ; for then is laid aside all respect

respect and consideration, with reference to Affinity, Consanguinity or Friendship; for Friend knows not his Friend, nor Relation Relation; neither doth the Son know his Father, nor Servant his Master, no more than the Subject knows his Prince. Thus States and Common-wealths have their Diseases as well as Men. It is the wise Physician's part, to find out its Cause; for when known, the Maladie is half cured: And as Purging and Bleeding is requisite to full Bodies, where Bloud abounds, and ill Humours are grown to a ferment; so Phlebotomy in a State, is necessary when Malecontents are risen up, and become the Disease of the Place, so as to affect the Body Politick. Let the Evil proceed from what cause soever, it matters not; neither

neither is it material from what quarter the Wind Blows, if it indangers the House. Therefore let the Discord proceed from what Cause or Persons soever; whether from a foreign designing Power or from Poverty, Oppression or Idleness, or from the popularity of some particular indeared One to the People, as *Absalom* was in his time; all which being so many Rock's or Shelves, the Pilot, who sits at the Helm, ought to steer his Ship so as to avoid the threatened Danger; and though he hath formerly escaped, yet is he not to rest secure; for though every Vapour may not turn to a Storm, yet it is good that the Ship's Tackling be ready to weather the Tempest, that she may be safely steered into the Harbour of Peace.

Civil War ordinarily hath these following Pretences; as Religion which is of great weight to influence a bigotted Commonalty, an invasion of Properties, which annexed to the former, will go a great way to unhinge all. Thus if Laws be broken, Privileges infringed, and Subjects oppressed, whether by Taxes, or by the Irregularity of Soldiers. Also when Persons of no merit are impowered, any Thing will serve malecontents to exclaim and take occasion to gratify their Spite; though the secret Cause of their Inveterateness proceeds from their not being preferred, and that their imaginary Merit is not answered: But whatever the inducements may be, they are but a wild sort of Executors of Justice, who taking pet at the World, will chuse rather to revenge

venge themselves on themselves, than not gratify their Humour; but these hereby involve also the ignorant Commonalty, that like Tinder are subject to take Fire; such, rather than sit still, under those Bounds that Providence hath prescribed them, will run the hazard of their own Destruction.

Also Princes Austerity to their Subjects may be a means to bring on themselves, as well as People, many Evils. The same may be said of private Feuds in great Families, that they are the Forerunners of Tumults in a State; especially when they arise to that height, as to forme themselves into disorderly Assemblies, from such Sparks are often kindled Civil Dissensions. Likewise want of Bread may be an occasion; for nothing makes more

desperate than a Dearth, and the more, if there be no prospect of a Remedy.

The Remedies of Civil War may in some measure be effected; when its Causes are known, then suitable ways may be found to appease the incensed Ones. If the imperious Humour of the Prince be occasion, then let him change his Conduct; for such may be the churlish Austerity of a Master, that his Dogs may be so incensed, as to shew their Teeth, and Snarl, though they may not always Bite: Soft Words, and a debonaire Carriage, cost nothing. Had *Rehoboam* practised this Rule, he had not lost Ten Tribes; but if any publick Ministers abuse the Power they are intrusted with, then let them be removed, and made, publick Examples to deter others.

others. Doth penury, and want of Bread, cause Exclaimers, and Hurricanes are thereby raised amongst the People? Then let Monopolisers of Provisions be obliged to bring forth their Stores, and Sell at a regulated Price; for private Interest should give way to the publick Good. In order to which let Husbandry, Mechanics, and Merchants be encouraged; and suffer not Money to lodge in a few Hands, but find ways to make it Circulate, lest it be said, That Want reigns where Riches abound.

Common-wealths are composed of two sorts of People, Nobility and Commonalty, under which general Heads are several Classes of Men. The latter is a great Body, slow of Motion; therefore as a spur to quicken them, the Nobility is necessary;

not only to excite, but also to steer them in their right Bias, for the Example of the Nobility doth wonderfully influence those more heavy Masses, and by a sort of Sympathy infuses in them new Spirits, and gives Courage to undertake, and execute generous Enterprises: For the Nobility wanting Numbers can not effect, what necessity might require from more numerous Bodies. Thus Nature hath wisely ordered each degree of Men to be necessary to the other, that reciprocally they might be the stay and support of the Body Politick, without which Union it could not subsist.

It is the Wisdom of those that sit at the Helm to use means to keep up that noble Heat, with which the Multitude may be inspired, and not suffer their
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laudable Resolutions to cool; in order to which, hopes of future Recompences are the great Engines of use on all occasions: For let Hopes dye, and you may bid farewell to Successes, and conclude that both will sink together; for Hope is the life of Enterprises, it sets all Wheels on going, even from the crowned Head to the Dunghill; each have their Aims and Ends with which they flatter themselves into an imaginary Happiness, though they never live to see it compassed.

But as hath been before hinted on an other occasion, That as all humane Bodies are subject to vicious Humours, so the Body Politick hath its Diseases and Tumors, which ought to be redressed by a timely prevention: For amongst the Nobility, of

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whom

whom more reasonably might be expected fidelity from their Birth and Education, are found those that are drawn away, though they possess the Prince's Favour, or at least injoy his Presence, to which by their Quality they are intitled unto, that one would think might be sufficient to steer them in the right way. But unhappy for them, and also for the Government, where such Disorders happen, for these prove the most dangerous Tools of Mischief, and the more, in that their Education hath given them acquired Qualifications by which they are capacitated to be more effectually good, or evil Instruments: But let the Cause of Discontent be what it will however justifiable in the prepossessed Apprehensions of such disaffected Ones, that

that is not here the subject, but to shew how to quench, and extinguish those Fire-brands, and Ring-leaders to mischief.

The first Remedy therefore proposed is, That the discontented Party by fair means be drawn to their Duty and Allegiance, from a true apprehension of their own Interest, with that of their Countreys; in order to which, Reasons may be taken with respect to the one, and the other, and that by some proper Instrument such honourable Satisfaction might be proposed as may consist with the Prince's Character of Sovereign, when he treats with his Subjects.

But if fair Means fail, and that the Offenders are inexorable, then eclipse that supposed Merit, by which the Head of the Faction is boyed up in the Vulgar's

gar's Opinion: To promote which, insinuate Fears and Jealousies, that the fervor with which the Tumult is excited to Sedition, may be cooled; to compass which, let the Prince have in his Eye such, whose known desert hath not made them the Subject of the Peoples envie; such, whose Integrity and Faithfulness, annexed with their Experience in military Affairs, may carry on awful fear, and veneration for their Person.

Also *David's* Policy may be of use, by sending a *Hushai* to countertermine their *Achitophels*, that by Intelligence, and a Diffidence insinuated, the Enemy may be weakened, and divided into Factions; on such Occasions not only Policy, but Money may be a proper Bait: For what can not Gold effect? What hath it

it not done in such Cases? It is as Oil to the Wheel, that makes all Things Easy; opens Closet-doors, discloses Secrets, imposes Silence, or makes the Priests Mouth Speak; it inflames Zeal, creates Friends, and makes those that were Enemies, such, as they would sacrifice all to carry on that Interest, which before was their Averſion: So wonderfull is the operation of this Metal, that it blinds the Eyes of the Seeing, and opens those that before could not discern; and makes the difficultest Enterprizes easy by removing all Obstacles.

But when all Means fail, and that ſuppreſſing Sedition is the Question, then let a Door timely be opened to those that by Repentance shall come in, and take hold of Pardon; which, when proposed, ought most Religiously
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to be observed: Offenders are not to be abandoned to Despair; that makes those the inveterate Enemies, which, by prudent Management, might have become usefull Friends. Let not *Machiavel's* Assertion be countenanced, That to the end Designs may not be abortive, it is necessary to be perfectly Wicked: But since Princes and Subjects are Mortal, why should their Passions be immortal? Neither is it good to penetrate too far into the Nature of Offences, especially when the Sore is spreading. But as Corruptions increase, and ways found to evade the Law, so should Justice be awakened to the extinguishing of growing Evils.

Of Foreign War.

FOreign War is a less Evil, and a generouser Contention than the Civil, which may be reduced to that of Offensive, and Defensive.

The Offensive is either Unjust, or Just. The occasions taken for an Unjust War are sometimes so trivial, as may rather be lamented than inquired into, and so with reason is called Offensive.

Of Unjust, Offensive War.

THe Opinion, that Right consists in that we are stronger than our Neighbours,
or

or that God takes the strongest Part, is a Tenent to be abhorred: For he is a Supporter of justice, and the giver of Victory; which may be reasonablier expected, when Justice and Necessity compel to take Arms for Refuge. Having Self-preservation, and Peace for End, success may better be expected; but they have reason to be jealous of their good Fortune, when Ambition and Covetousness set them on work.

This Unjust, Offensive War is the legitimate off-spring of Pride and Ambition, and managed by such who are Scourges in God's Hands by whose means Countries are depopulated, and Devastations made. Such are Beasoms in God's Hands, with which he sweeps Nations. This sort of War is, in its Nature, offen-

offensive to Mankind, whose Undertaker seems to design the Destruction of his Species.

This is the most unnatural of Enterprises, and looks as if Men had forgot they were Men, and that they had divested themselves of their Understanding and Humanity; and were become more cruel, each to other, than irrational Brutes are to those of their own Sort, who wage not War, one kind against those of the same. The Lion ordinarily tears not the Lion, nor the Tiger and Wolf those of their kind; they assemble not in Herds, and form not destructive Projects by gathering Parties against Parties. Also our Lord gives us to believe, That though the Devils are Enemies to Mankind, yet that they are not divided amongst themselves;

Observations, &c. of the
selves; for if so, their Kingdom
could not stand.

Is it not Folly and Frenzie to
seek Occasions to be a Plague to
the Age, and an Instrument of
torment to others? To effect
which, they will run through all
Hazards by Sea and Land, and
for Uncertainties court Death
and Destruction; and with so
much fierceness imbarck others
with themselves, to endeavour
the Ruin of those they neither
hate, nor know: As it is with
every hired Souldier that invades
the Persons and Properties of
such who never gave him offense.
Thus these mercenary Champi-
ons contribute, as far as in them
lies, to the promoting the Dis-
order and sad Effects of such
Debordements, even to which
themselves they bear their share.
Those mercenary Ones, who re-
gard

not the Justice of a Cause, but fight for the empty Name of being Valourous, and the inconsiderable recompences intailed on them, rather deserve to be styled Mad-men, who give themselves up a Prey to the Sword, and hazard for trifles their All to the Mercy of incensed Ones; who will have no consideration to reduce such, either to their first Nothing, or to render them useless by loss of Members, which is more deplorable than Death it self: And this to serve the passion of an ambitious One in an unjust Cause; and perhaps such an one, who neither knows, nor cares, for their Persons, farther than to obtain his End; nor would Scruple, when occasion offered, to serve himself of their dead Bodies, as a Pedestal to
G. heighten

heighten his Stature to take the farther view.

But when God, and Reason, calls for the Defence of their Countrey, Prince, and Properties, then to dye, or suffer, in such a cause, is honourable, and a Duty incumbent on the Subject. It is deplorable, the sad Reflections that may be made of the Effects incident to Wars; which in themselves are sufficient to deter the Promoters of unjust Ones. The hardening themselves against such Considerations are Aggravations of their Crimes; for from that time they are launched from the Shore of Peace, they also involve themselves, and others, into a Sea of Troubles, with whose angry Waves they wrestle, and are tossed, and hurried by the Wind of Fortune into a Gulph of Misery; which
hath

hath a Mouth wide like Hell, and refuses no Comers, but Preyes mostly on the Valiant, and such as are fittest for noble Atchievements: The most robust and daring, and those likeliest to live, are more immediately its Objects; and like the Lion, the King of Beasts, disdains a mean Prey, and as he spares none, but crushes all that come under his Paws. So this King of Terrours, when riding in Triumph on his Chariot of War, then the impotent, the base, the Coward, are not so immediately the Object of his lure, as the bold and daring, such as with courage can look Death in the Face; thus like the generous Hawk, he takes his flight on the noblest Quarry.

But such is the misery incident to Man, that sometimes God suffers in an Age a Scourge

to arise, who being given up to a boundless Ambition, is unsati-
able even to the ravishing his
Neighbour's Properties; which
after he calls his, and that for no
juster reason than that such was
his pleasure; and after an illegiti-
mate Possession, claims a right
to adjacent Places by virtue of
their Reunion. Thus some Mens
desires are boundless like the
Ocean, and as the Grave are ne-
ver satisfied; for presuming on
their Power and Strength, they
insult their Neighbours. But
where is the generosity: To seek
occasions of Contest where none
is given, and that on frivolous,
and often on no pretext surprise
the disarmed, or at least upon
such a disparity of Force as makes
them no proper Objects for a
generous Undertaker? But such
run the Hazard of this Censure,
that

That as the lesser Hectors, where, they have an advantage, will, on every flight Occasion, quarrel, and draw; and wanting matter for Contest, will rake it out of nothing. Thus the greater to serve their turn wage War, and tell the reason afterwards. But so abstruse are the Inducements for their irregular Proceedings, that even *Oedipus* himself, how clear-sighted soever, had he been living, could not have discovered whence, nor why were such Hostilities; yet such are the Parasitical Humours of many, that after a success obtained, they will sing the Encomiums of Praises of those whom they know have dishonoured God, and done the Devil's Business.

Thus unwarrantable Actions take a new Name, and bury that

of Usurpation in the Bowels of Victory, that it seems as if Success and Right were indissolvably knit together. Thus the Glory of overcoming, or being overcome, denominates the Enterprize good or evil; and, according to the common acceptation of things, Fame Ecchoes forth Praise or Dispraise. Thus little Robberies are called Thefts, while those great ones of Principalities and Countries are styled Conquests, and Heroick Actions. Thus Usurpation changes its Name, and the Usurper is become the lawful Prince; whose fortunate Success is adored by the gazing World, while the Sufferer is despised and contemned. Thus the small Fry in the Seas is made the prey to greater Fishes, and the lesser Fowl to Birds of prey. Thus powerful
Princes

Princes imboldened by their strength like Wolves, seize on their Neighbours Flocks, and hug themselves with this impious Maxim, That wicked Enterprises change their Nature with their Names, and become Vertues, when attended with Success. Thus is he exalted to pride himself whose Bloud boiling in a high Ferment of Glory, is imboldened to farther Insolencies though he runs the hazard of Eternal Vengeance; for the all-powerful is not tied to Means, but with the Usurper's own Weapons, whetted to Destroy his Neighbours, he may thereby himself be made a Victim, and the measure he meted to others, may be accumulated on him.

But what can we expect, when the Reflections of a Superiour Vengeance will not take Place,

that any more inferiour Consideration should be available? Or that he should be induced to moderation, from any Reason drawn from his Honour, that is eclipsed by oppressing such who have not might to Subsist, but under the shelter of a more Auspicious Wing. But it is not thus amongst irrational Animals; for the generous Lion disdains to make the Mouse his prey; nor will the Eagle catch Flies.

Of Just Offensive War.

IT may be presumed that none will undertake such Enterprises, unless well-provided with necessary Requisites; it concerns not less such who have a legal Reason to begin a Just Offensive War,

War, than those who want that Title to justify their Actions, especially since Honour, Reason, and Justice alarm them to action.

It may be with justice denominated Offensive, yet not from the same Reason that the Unjust War is so called; for in this War Justice is implied, and is a Right that the Prince doth himself, and his People, who is supposed to be the Sufferer of wrong, either from omission of right expected, or from a Commission of wrong done. Thus, though cause be given for a Just Offensive War, yet before imbarcking therein, let the reasons of the undertaking be scrutinously looked into, and not take fire at every alarm, though there may be Amusements, and that Returns of just Demands may be dilatory and delusory, and

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Incroachments may be made on various Pretences, and that Words in Treaties may be wrested: Also such may Circumstances of Time and Place be, as to furnish matter for Contest; all which the Prudent Prince will not immediately resent, and take the alarm at every disgust, but rather by moderation Calm Heats, using means to reconcile Misunderstandings, giving right Ideas of Things by placing matters indispute in their true Light; for the events of War are like casts at Hazard, where the Dice commonly runs contrary to expectation, in which Fate hath a greater share than Reason: Though the Enterprize may be plausible, and easy at first Undertaking, yet there will be found Difficulties, and the End uncertain, if not Fatal; and oftentimes the Victor have

hath occasion to say with *Pyr-
rhus*, when he had vanquished
the *Roman* Forces, to those that
congratulated his Success, That
their Transports of Joy ought
to be moderated by Silence, since
such another Victory would have
undone him. Thus it may hap-
pen, that the Conquerour pro-
fits not by his Conquest: Those
are surely most unhappy Under-
takings, where neither Party can
promise themselves to profit by
their Enterprises; but that there
is an indubitable necessity, that
both must be Losers; as it hap-
pens in all warlike Undertakings;
there being never Tears wanting
in the greatest Solemnities of
Triumphs. The Armour is soon
put on, the City is soon in a
Flame, but the Remedies of Con-
flagration are not easily effected;
and Fortune, who is inconstant,

is

is never so eminently such, as in her dispensing her Laurels. Princes may be said to be like Fishers, who angle for a Prize, though they use the golden Hook, yet sometimes they not only miss the Prey, but even Bait-hook, and all are often lost; so that though the Gainer of the Bait hath dearly purchased the swallowing that Morsel, yet hath the Angler little Cause of Triumph; and many times gazing Spectators have seen their Heads crowned with unexpected Trophies and Honour, whom they expected should have been made Victims. . It is very disingenuous not to say worse, on every slight Occasion, to place the welfare of the Subject on the Sword's Point. But some, like Gamesters, that have so itching an humour for Play, that rather than

than stand out, will hazard all.

It is not prudent, at all Times, to begin a just War, especially when the Evil that accrues by it, is greater than the Good that can be expected from a reasonable Compliance. Let soft and healing means be used with such honourable Condescensions, as may consist with the Prince's Character. But if Necessity compels, and that Reason and Justice countenance his Cause, then let Diligence and Vigilancy be awakened, to prosecute effectually what shall be begun. For since nothing less than Fire and Sword will be available, use them as the last Remedy to procure that Peace, which fair means could not effect. Which having first essayed may give occasion with more reason to expect a prosperous Success. By which

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we see how the use of Arms is necessary, and that the Military Profession ought to be honoured, and encouraged; but however laudable it is in itself, yet such ill use hath been made of it, as to give occasion for the unthinking Multitude to exclaim against it, as one of the Plagues of Mankind, and as a Science hatched in Hell for the Destruction of Humane Society. But as the best of Food turns to ill Humours when it lights upon a vicious and a disaffected Stomack: So the military Profession may be misused; and as skill and Weapons in the Hands of Robbers are hurtful and destructive, but commendable, when lodged with the honest Traveller, who employs them to defend his Person, and Effects.

Thus

Thus the Military Art, and its Professors, recommend themselves to the World as the stay of Lives, Laws, Liberties and Properties. There is no Profession so honourable as the Military, nor more useful in its Place, when managed by a prudent Conduct. It is noble in its Cause when legitimate, as also in its Execution, by which its Professors are innobled, and capacitated for the highest Honours; so that thereby they are adorned with Purples, and many times their Merit recompenced with Crowns and Scepters. Even from private Centinels some have raised themselves to the highest pitch of Preferment, and by their Vertue and Prowess have commanded such, whom before themselves have obeyed. No Characters of Men whatsoever, deserve more from the Hands of
their

their Prince, not only in respect of their present Use, but also in regard of the Antiquity of their Profession. For we read of Hostilities before Learning had polished, refined, and dignified Men; for after the Person of their Sovereign, they are the noblest, and the more in this respect, That the Prince prides himself in the glorious Epithet of being stiled a Souldier; and it is the Prince's peculiar Province, to innoble and recompence Valour, by Military Honours. Also in many respects, they exceed the learned Heads, however crowned with Bays: For they are not only the preservers of Laws and Religion, and the Protectors of Persons and Properties; but that Countrey, where the Military Art is incouraged, becomes a Nursery of all Sciences, and under their Wing, Trade Flourishes,

riches, and Riches increase, to the Honour and Strength of that State and Government, where that Profession is kept on Foot; but where it lies dormant, a Door is opened to the first Ambitious One, that shall find himself at leisure to insult their Security.

Of Defensive War.

Hitherto War hath been our Subject, so far as regards the offensive Part, whether Just, or Unjust; in the latter the Innocent is assaulted, and reduced to defend himself. It is time now to give some Hints, with reference to the Defensive Part of War, where Self-preservation calls for the Vindication of invaded Rights of the Innocents, who are therein passive, and by an impulse of Fate hurried on to defend

fend themselves ; like those harmless Clients, who fly to the Law for refuge from their litigious, vexatious Neighbours. It is from this verbal War, that the more bloody one, made by Fire and Sword, may have derived its Name ; and as a Metaphor, drawn from defending the Cause, hath taken its name of a Defensive War, when the assaulted is necessitated to arm in his own Defence against the Aggressor.

It is Natural to all sublunary Creatures, animated with Life, to seek their Preservation ; and God hath imprinted it in the very Nature of irrational Animals to preserve themselves from an invading Foe, and for that end hath furnished each with suitable Weapons : Some have their Horns, some are taught the use of the Heel, others have their Teeth and Claws for Weapons ; even the very Reptiles and Insects have

have their Stings, which they use when provoked.

Since Self-defence is a Dictate of Nature amongst irrational Creatures; so it is in Man, even the Laws of Nations will that Force be repelled by Force : Yet some are of Opinion, That Self-defence is but a Faculty, and not properly termed a War; but we will not stick at the Name, but leave it as inserted, and call the Faculty of Self-defence to be a waging War. And as Fencers, where the one attacks, and the other paryeth, yet both are styled Fencers, and the Exercise is called Fencing. So those that wage a War offensive, and they that defend themselves, are reciprocal Wagers of War.

It is not to be questioned, but a Prince may take Arms to defend his own and Peoples Rights; for God, Man, and Reason, calls him to it, and are Incouragers of Self-preservation, and to have recourse to Ex-

tremities. When nothing else will prevail, then the Offender must be Offended, and Force must repel Force. Yet though it be concluded reasonable, and a Duty incumbent upon each to defend themselves; nevertheless God hath indued Man with Wisdom, by which greater Things have been effected than by Force; for Prudence finds many ways to wind it self out of Trouble, and suits Remedies to the Circumstances then occurring. To give particular Observations for each case, is impossible since intervening Affairs can only direct, for New Accidents require New Counsel. But there are Methods always of use, as Beacons to direct Travellers. Amongst the general Heads of Advices observe, That when you find you shall unavoidably be attacked, and that all Means for accommodation avail not, then begin the Game yourself; and by way of preven-

prevention, if possible, assault your Enemy; for the surest Defence, is Offence. Thus hurting, and being hurt, are near Neighbours. Besides what Measures Prudence may have directed, try also (even in the time of Action) what Money will do ; part with it rather than with more Essentials. Let the Sheep be Shorn rather than part with their Skins; the Fruits of the Earth, and Money, are easilier retrieved, than Liberties and Patrimonies. And though Ambition may not be charmed down by Money, yet through the Means of Favourites, a Change hath many Times been compassed: Therefore Plough with the Aspirers Heifers; for though the Ambitious one disdain, Golden Showers, yet he may be overcome by a *Dalila*, or some Favourite.

Use therefore Gold as being an Engine of great use; it is a most Sovereign Mistress that makes the

Blind See, and gives Strength to the Weak, and Feet and Wings to the Slow. By it Peace is sometimes purchased, and it is the cause of much Good, and much Evil; it is the Spring that sets all Wheels on going, from the Prince to the meanest of his People.

The Prince therefore should not want this so admirable a Cordial futable to all the Grievances incident to a languishing and threatened State, and is the best Bullwark to fence off approaching Evils; whether Famine, Fire, or Sword; it is so desirable, that the Business of Mankind in all Ages hath been to acquire it. How hath it penetrated Rocks, Stony Hearts, melted Metals; and without other Key, hath caused to fly open the strongest Gates to pay it homage, though tyed upon an Ass's Back?

If the Tempest cannot be diverted by Gold, then see what Stores
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and Provisions have been laid up. Lose no Time, it is an advantage to be soonest in the Field; and if there be no want of Money, Counsel, nor other Requisites, then he that gives the first Blow, being so provided, is liklier to renew his Stroak; than those whom a Surprise hath brought into disorder. Thus meet danger, else it will find you out, and give Reputation to your Courage and Strength; and may be of use to bring the Enemy to consider, That a War built on Injustice may indanger his own Ruin. But let not him who values himself for Might, Situation, Numbers, Riches, and past Successes, be too assured; for Success doth not always serve the same Master, for sometimes it hath happened that Victory hath waited on those, whose Forces were Inferiour to the Assailant, whose numerous Multitudes threatened to Swallow all before them; yet as the small

Sands stop the Career of the raging Seas, and set bounds to its proud and insulting Waves, *That so far they shall go and no farther*, so should all bordering concerned Ones, nay even all *Europe*, endeavour to chain up the never-satisfied Lion with prey, that thereby he may be confined to his due Bounds: But some presume that Fortune will always favour their Purposes, so they continue Plagues in their Age.

But when neither Money, prudent Measures, nor Force can rescue from Ruin, then the Giant must be let alone, and other Requisites used to calm that Heat: For when Courage is not available, a prudent Shelter from approaching Danger may be commendable, and ought not to be styled Cowardise; for though Vertue be most demonstrated by wrestling with the greatest Difficulties, and that Courage is ready to frame Ideas, That all
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Dangers are less, than what their Fears suggest them to be, whose false Images have often fetched Disasters from far, even to cause Armies to Fly when none Pursu'd; yet it is Fool-hardiness to run precipitately into them, rather than seek a timely Remedy answerable to Circumstances, as by calling in Succours; which, if failing, then the Generous will chuse rather to dye gloriously, than tamely lye down to be inflaved; better it is to dye free by hazarding all in trusting Providence, than to be trodden under Foot. The All-powerfull is not tyed to Strength, or Numbers, but can place the Laurel on the Head of the weakest. And though Supplies be wanting, and that they exceed in number of Men, yet they may not in number of Soldiers: For a good Cause, and Courage, answers all Defects. As *Almanzor*, Son of an *Arabian* King, told his Father, That no Weapon was

was too short for a Man of Courage; since what it wanted in Length, it might be supplied by Valour, and stretching forth the Arm.

And though Expectations may not immediately be answered, yet the Generous will persevere in magnanimous Resolutions to the last, and not prescribe a time for Deliverance; for he who is the Protector of the oppressed, usually takes the Opportunity to deliver, when Extremity calls loudest. For there is no Fire, how great soever, but may be either quenched, or an entire Conflagration prevented: Few Wounds but find Plaisters proper for their Sore. Besides, Time wonderfully changes the Face of Things, and makes our very Passions alter, that that which once was the Object of our Hate may in time become that of Love, or at least Indifferency; even the Persons of the Assailants are not immortal.

mortal, though their Passions may appear so.

Thus Hopes should bear up the Courage of the Generous, what either is or may be in prospect, any thing rather than despair; imagine that the Assailant, or his Animosity may dye, or his Passion for Empire cease, or that some unforeseen Accident may turn the Scales; for though Towns, Cities, and Countreys may suffer, be Stormed, and Taken, yet they can not carry them away; and Time may either see them rendered, or retaken.

Neither is it morally impossible, but that even the Conquerours may be Conquered by those they oppressed; for the greatest Things are many times brought about by small Accidents: There needs but the want of Water, or a too great Inundation of the same, to change the face of things; for when God will deliver a People, his Methods are usually attended
with

with surprising Circumstances, the better to shew that his Finger operated therein. Yet let not the expectation of some surprising Deliverance, render secure, but be armed for Accidents, and use all probable means. However averse Fortune may appear to be, yet keep Courage awake, and persevere patiently : For there is nothing more inconstant than the events of War ; the knowlegde of which, may be improved so, as in Prosperity never to be secure, nor in Adversity to sink. But hope still, and be diligent, and active as fire, and with the Eagle quick-sighted, *Argus* like, looking every way ; and, as if possessed of *Briareus's* many Arms, bestir your self to frustrate all Enterprises.

The Fore-sight of events is necessary, and prevents many Evils, for by seasonable notices, Places are fortified, and Peoples Effects secured. This may detect the Imprudence of those, who through a parsimonious

nious Principle of sparing lye still, as the unconcerned Object of Prey to those, who are upon no other score an Enemy, than that their Ambition and Power makes them such. It concerns all who are Neighbours to such a Danger, to stand on their Guard, and to strengthen themselves by joint Confederacy, against a common Oppressour, who hath given the World occasion to know, he will never want Pretences to offend, if thereby he may cloth himself with the Spoil of others; who is never in the wrong, nor yet true to his Promises; and will never want insnaring ways to involve the Unwary; who like the Fox, or Wolf are for making all a Prey they can Surprise. Therefore by Union, and Counsel strengthen each other; for sometimes Counsel answers the want of Force. Being thus armed by Resolution, go on and Prosper; for that is the best Armour of Proof.

Upon

Upon all occasions where Hostile Actions are necessary, as many useful Hands are to be secured as possible; but let few Heads be privy to what shall be the Enterprize. Affairs of War ought to be deliberated by many, but the Results known to few. When all lies at Stake, as Life, Liberty and Safety, then it is high time to stand up for them; especially having to do with One, who regards not such trifles as Honour, and Conscience; and looks upon Justice, and the keeping Promises, to be plebeian Virtues, offensive to a squiremish Conscience, and a stop to the Career of accumulating Provinces, as so many Annexes to his Territories; but how far it consists with Justice, that is never made the Question.

Thus it appears reasonable, that in time of Peace, Forces should be maintained; and Disciplined; who ought not to be considered by the Inhabitants, as their Disease; but rather

ther as those in whom consists their Safety and Happiness: For a competent number of standing Forces, kept in due order; instead of giving Jealousies, and being a Terrour, ought to be considered as the Bullwarks of the Country; and as the great Incouragement to Industry. For what Courage can the Husband-man have to Plough and Sow, or the Merchant to venture his Stock, to Traffick, when they know not who shall reap the Fruit of their Industry? Thus under God the Souldier is the Subjects shelter, from Fears at home, and from Enemies abroad; by whose means Trade Flourishes, and the Age is Crowned with Plenty. By what hath been said, it appears, That a standing Army kept in good Order and Discipline, may be a promoter of Justice, and the Protector of the Sovereign's Authority; by which he bears the Character of God's Vicegerent on Earth.

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My spare Hours, have given me occasion to speak of Peace and War, which I intended for the private use of my Successors, who are not in Election to meet with a favorabler Reception from the World, than my Predecessors, and self have had. I hope my Neighbouring Princes, from the same Inducement, may find Reason to join in Confederacy, against formidable Incroachers; in after Ages, as well as in these our times, which will strengthen this received rule, That from others Harms, and past Dangers; it is wisdom to take Warning: And most certain it is, That in the Union of lesser Powers consists their Strength. For though War, like some Physick is never to be Administered, but upon unavoidable Occasions; yet it is necessary to Bridle the exorbitant Desires of the Ambitious, and to preserve Peace. Thus War though a necessary Evil, yet hath this Good in it;
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in that it protects the Weak from threatened Violence, secures Justice to each Proprietor. Thus taking up Arms, may be sometimes a most necessary Refuge; when by Tyrannical Inundations the Prince is Insulted.

I might here have concluded, but having observed the frailty of Peace when Unarmed; and that security is a temptation for Insulters to profit by their lying so exposed: Therefore the use of Arms, is of absolute Necessity, even in time of Peace, and that the Military Art be encouraged. For which Reason, I shall further add some thing with reference to Military Professors, and will decipher the Qualifications requisite in each of its Members; for as the Military Employment exceeds all others, so its Professors deserve the greatest Honours and Encouragements. There is no Virtue in Civil Society that heaps so much Glory on the Heads of those it adorns, as that of
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the Military, and Experience hath taught Men to know, That it is necessary to have an established Policy, with suitable Incouragements answerable to the great Undertakings of military Men; that according to the different Spheres they move in, they may have suitable Returns, without which. few would be found to court so dangerous a Mistress, that cannot be obtained but by wading through Bloud, Sweat, and Labour, whose Rivals for Honour never flourish so gloriously, nor ride in Triumph so pompously, as in the midst of Fire and Smoke. To proceed, let some thing be first said of the Infantry in general, and after, of each of their Stations in particular.

Of the use of Infantry.

THe Foot is useful in all Places, though rough, narrow, or straight Passages, whether Hilly, Rocky,

Rocky, or Boggy Grounds, and is of less charge in raising and keeping; and its Stores lye in less room, and require fewer Carriages, and are easilier disposed of, and secured, than Forage. When the Foot is well Disciplined, and in good Heart, they will maintain their Ground against the Horse, and are best in Combat, Sieges, and Ambushes, and will bear the brunt of the Day, with more Obstinacy; and though they are not so expeditious in gaining Victory, nor so useful in pursuing; yet they are not so soon vanquished, but will stand the hottest Brunts longer, and indure Fatigues, with Resolution and Patience; when the Horse-man cannot be Master of his own Intentions, if hurried away by these strong-headed Animals, to the dishonour of their Riders, and many times loss of Victory. In the Infantry are more Preferments, and is the readiest way to the highest Military Honours.

Of the Common Souldier.

HE is the Stock upon which all Cions are ingrafted, where the Product sometimes exceeds its Parent, who from thence have risen to the highest Degrees of Honour; even Princes have honoured that Station, either by shouldering the Musquet, or trailing the Pike.

The Common Souldier ought to be young and vigourous, of a healthy Constitution able to indure Fatigues; such who have been inured to Labour and Hardships are most desirable; the Climates that they are born under, may contribute much to indure Hardships; for more are killed for not being able to suffer Fatigues, than have lost their Lives by the Sword. His Stature should be rather tall than little; his Limbs clean and strong; his Feet good, and of a nimble and active Body; cleanly in his Person, Cloths and Arms;

Arms; well Shod, and careful of his Necessaries, That he may encounter Want, with the longest. He must not hazard at Play, what he hath, lest it becomes another's Propriety, and so be tempted to irregular Ways, to supply his Wants; which may expose him to suffer military Discipline. Thus the bravest in a Heard have been untimely cut off, as Examples to others, which but for evil Presidents, hath been desired, that they might have been spared.

Also Wine and Women, are the bane of an Army, and unfit the Souldier for Duty; the first bereaves him of Senses, and the second of Strength, and both are Triflers away of time, and Obstructions to Advancement.

The Character of a Souldier is, That he have Courage as to dare Look Death and Danger, in the Face. One who is armed with Resolution, either to vanquish, or Dye,

It hath been observed, That some Men, who have Courage in the Field, will fight like Heroes in a Crowd, when animated by numbers; yet will want that mettle in private Quarrels. It were to be desired, our Souldier were of that rugged Mould, not to suffer Affront, nor give occasion for Quarrels; but when insulted over, then let him only right himself by generous Repulses, thereby he gains esteem, and shuts the Door against after Broils and, Quarrels.

His Character is accomplished if he Knowes to carry himself debonairly to his Equals, obediently and humbly to his Superiours, and can give Instances of his Humanity to all.

He is haughty to the Proud and Insolent: With his Enemies stout and valiant; but is meek and gentle, and affable, when Time, Persons, and Place call for it.

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He is also vigilant, and a strict Observer of his Duty, fearing to be surpris'd, either by his Superiours or Enemies, and never questions why, or what are the Reasons; but with an implicit Obedience, without murmuring, discharges those Commands injoined him.

He will keep his Arms in good order, and readiness; and, with the many good Qualities requisite, he is indued with Patience, a most necessary Ingredient in a Souldier; so that Money is not more useful, to supply the Necessities of the Poor, nor Wisdom to answer the Defects of Folly, than Patience and Perseverence is, in the course of a Military Life; for by this Vertue the greatest Difficulties are overcome.

Of the Corporal,

HE is promoted to that Station, from that of the Common Souldier; so ought to have his Qualifications, with improvements; as he exceeds him in Trust reposed; so he ought to go beyond him, in Diligence and Capacity. That he may the better discipline the private Centinels, and keep Peace he is to give information of Things to his Superiours, and carry the List of such as are to mount the Guard. It is he that distributes Ammunition, and Provision, and provides necessary Fire and Candle, and gives the Word handed to him; and in a particular manner his Duty is, to be acquainted with the Persons, and merit of each Particular, that he may place them accordingly.

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The Trust reposed in a Corporal, is of that consequence, That on his Fidelity, depends the Security of those Avenues where he is placed; for to have *corps de gardes* surpris'd, is of that importance, that sometimes it hath occasioned the Destruction of an Army.

Of the Sergeant.

HE is one chosen by the Captain, from amongst the best of his Men, for known Fidelity, Experience, Courage, and Diligence; he is the Corporal's Elder Brother, whose Place differs in this, That he Hands to him his Instructions, and gives out those Ammunitions and Provisions designed, and with the Corporal, takes cognisance of the merit of each particular Person; and their Lodging, and Necessities, of which
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an Inspection ought to be taken, as also into their Behaviour ; to assign Quarters, which he is to visit from time to time. The Care of the Company lies on him ; he is the Captain's Eyes and Ears, by whom he receives Information of both Sick and Well, and other necessary Circumstances. In short, the Sergeant ought to be brave and stout every where, Night and Day, moving, walking the Rounds, visiting Centinels ; and, when upon Duty, he is to be personally present with the Superiour Officers, at the opening, and shutting of the Gates.

Of the Ensign.

IT is a Post for a Gentleman ; he ought to be endued with Sentiments of Honour for his Country, and Person. He should be Young,
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a Man of Courage, well made, with a good Presence. His Duty is, to carry the Colours where commanded, and chuse rather to part with his Life, than with them. In the absence of his Captain, and Lieutenant, his Duty is the same with theirs, whose Instructions being in common these do refer.

Of the Lieutenant.

IN the Captain's Absence, he is his Representative; so requires all his Qualifications, their Duties being the same. He disciplineth the Men, hath regard that the Sergeants discharge their Duty. The Care of the Company lieth in a great measure on him; therefore he should be Prudent, and a Man of Courage, as well as of Experience: For if the Captain falls in Combat, he

he leaves the rear to the next Sergeant, to take his Sword and Post, at the Head of the Company. It is his great Interest to keep a good Intelligence with his Captain; being the way to Prefrement.

Of the Captain.

HE should be a Person of Honour, Courage, and Experience; prudent in Matters, neither too rough, nor too indulgent, that he incur neither Hatred, nor Contempt. He ought to be informed of his Men's Names, and of their merit, and should know their Necessities. He marches at the Head of his Company, and leads them on and off in Action, and he is to know the Quantity of Arms, Time when, and Place where, and all other Circumstances, according to the

the Nature of the Occasion. Also he should be skilled in Fortifications.

This Post is the usual Step, by which the greatest military Honours are ascended; therefore he ought to be a Man of worth, such as shall disdain the consulting his own Ease at a time when his Men are incommoded; he should be qualified with Wisdom, carrying always a Face of Prosperity, even in the midst of Discouragements, that none be disheartened. He should have a Spirit above mean Things, as that of making advantage of his Men by false Musters; but with the *Centurion* in the Gospel, keep his Company compleat; it being upon Record to his Honour, that he had a Hundred Men. By which it appears, as if there had been no False Musters in those Days. Also to assist his Men by little Advances, may keep them from Irregularities, and gain their Love. He should
be

be ambitious of honourable Undertakings, and not encourage by his Example any excess, but punish Drinking, and the Quarrellsome, with all Makers of Parties; Theft and the Seditious, are to be discouraged, or cut off for Example, by a solemn and publick Execution. Small Faults need not be observed, and when such as you would spare are guilty, so that the Eye cannot be shut, without incurring the Censure of being partial, then Severity is to be used, answerable to the Nature of the Crime without respect of Persons; and as a Parent, who, though he may have a secret tendency to some of his Children, above the rest; yet he wisely conceals it, and with Caution encourages all, and disobliges none.

Of the Major.

HIS Character is in common with other Commissioned Officers, *viz.* That he have Courage, and be qualified with Knowledge; and that he be diligent, and active; for in the Major's Power is included that of all the Officers in the Regiment, which gives him authority over the Captains, and other inferiour Officers, as well as Souldiers, in Garrisons, Villages, and in the Field. If there be not a Major in the Garrison; then he receives the Word, and directions from the Governour, as to Hours, Place and Quarters, which he communicates to the Sergeants, the same as if in Villages, or in the Field, whose Duty, and Instructions vary, according to the disposedness of Places, and the time when, whether of Danger, or other-

otherwise. He appoints detachments, and Places for Rendezvous, and marks out their Incampments, and hands to the Officers their Orders, before whom he is to be at their assigned Quarters, where he detaches *corps de Gardes*, and appoints Places for Centinels. His Orders are not to be altered but by himself as being the ordinary Conduit for conveying them, either from the General, or his Colonel. He should discourage useless Persons, and see the Regiment march in due order, and that they keep their Ranks, and carry their Arms, except weary, or sick; for whose relief, his care is, That carriages be provided to follow, that such as lag behind may be received. It is also his place to give out Provisions to each Company their Dividend, and to answer the necessity of the Sick, by suitable supplies of Food, Physick, and Shelter.

In Sieges he advertises the Officers of his Regiment when to mount the Guard, and Trenches, and commands the bringing off and on Labourers; he keeps a List of the Men, and takes Cognizance of the Officer's Baggage. He is obliged to be every where, and so for Expedition's - sake rides; he should be often with his Superiour Officers to receive Instructions. He sets Prizes on what Sutlers bring in the Camp, and provides for their safe Conduct, and that they may not want he doth encourage their being paid.

His Business consists more in giving Orders, than in executing Exploits; and though the practical part be requisit, yet a thorow Knowledge

130 *Observations, &c. of the*
ledge of the Theory is of absolute Necessity.

Of the Colonel.

HE is supposed to have eminently all the Qualifications of a brave Captain, who hath gone through those Degrees of Command, which have capacitated him for that Post, lest a conscientiousness of Demerit occasion his envying of more experienc'd Commanders that act under him. He is to attack, and defend, and lead his Regiment to ingage, to make Retreats and Intrenchments; he relieves Posts, visits Works, causes Orders to be observed, and hath the
Care

Care of the wounded Officers. He hath Power to arrest, and suspend those in Commission under him. He should be of an attractive and obliging Comportment to gain Love, and to preserve his Esteem he must act with Bravery, Courage, and Prudence, and be ever armed with Fore-sight.

Of the Major-General.

HE is to the Army in a great Character that which a private *Major* is in a Regiment; he ought to have the General's Ear, and to be ready to receive, and with Expedition to convey Orders received.

Of the Field-Marshal.

IT is of absolute Necessity that he that moves in this Post should be a Person of Worth, Honour, and Experience, since good or evil Accidents may happen, or be prevented, according to his managing his Orders received from the General: He appoints Guards, Convoys, Parties and Marches, and distributes his Instructions amongst the Majors. He should be informed of the Country through which the March is intended; the Care of lodging the Army lies on him, where he is to be the first and last mounted: This
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is so necessary and painful a Post, that in all Armies accordingly as they are numerous an Augmentation of them is required, they being an Ease to the General, who are to see Orders kept, and Justice administered. As the Majors and other Officers Care are of those lesser Bodies under their Command, so the Field-Marshal's Care is required of the whole Army; so that Experience and Conduct seems as necessary to one in this Post, as to that of the Lieutenant - Generals.

He is also the Protector of Sutlers, the Moderator of Rates, that the one may be encouraged to bring Supplies, and yet the Soldier not oppressed. He orders the

Marches of Foot and Horfe, their Quarters, and their Form of Battel, according to the then difpofal of Things in reference to Place, Time, and numbers of Horfe and Foot, the better to prevent what Evil may happen, or to make the beft of the worft of Accidents. This Place of Field-Marſhal is expofed to Envy, and Cenfure, fo is a Station of more Honour and Care, than Satisfaction.

Of the Lieutenant-General.

THIS Post, and the Generals, and Field-Mars-hals, have so great an Affinity, that there is requisite the same Capacity, Experience and Qualifications; for what the General commands, the other executes, and that sometimes in separate Bodies, and on several Occasions, as with Flying Camps, at Sieges, Attacks, and with Detachments and Convoys. The General as the Spring doth cause the Motion of all the Wheels, the principal of which are the Lieutenant-Generals, so should be Persons of tried Fidelity, Cour-

age , and Ability. Their Numbers are incertain, they act according to the General's Orders, which they hand to others , as in relation to Marches , assigning Incampments , Decampments , ordering Ingagements , commanding Retreats and Pursuits ; therefore Foresight , Prudence , Courage , Knowledge , and a presence of Mind in the greatest Hurry , are their requisite Qualifications.

OF

OF THE
CAVALRY.

HORSE is so requisite in an Army, that good Success in a great measure depends thereon, for all Places are first possessed by them, and those that exceed in their Numbers are likeliest to become Masters of the Field; for by them Garisons are victualled, the Army provided with Forrage, Convoys, Parties, and Quarters beaten up, surpris'd, and sometimes carried away. By the Horse it is that the Enemy is streighten'd, the
Country

Country ravaged, and harassed by Incursions. There is not an Enterprize of Hazard and Difficulty where the Horse is not concerned; by their means Designs are compassed, facilitated, and expedited.

The Horse being so necessary, so many of them are to be had as may answer the proportion of your Foot, as well as that of the Enemies. According to whose different Characters and Usefulnesses they are ordered, whether as *Cuirassiers*, *Light-horse*, *Dragoons*, *Croates*, or *Heydukes*. By these Passes are seized, Blockades made, and Contributions raised, Marches expedited, Pursuits and Surprises given; in the expeditious executing of which they are more necessary,

necessary, and exceed the Foot, whose slow Motions are often Impediments, and cause Disappointments, while the Horse by their quick and long Marches are the great Advantage, though attended with Inconveniencies, as being a greater Care and Charge.

Of the Trooper.

THis Post, though the lowest, yet from thence some have ascended to the highest Degree of Honour in Military Impleys; and as the same Soil produces Grain of several sorts, so the Bush and the Palm hath the same Origine, for Virtue is not al-

always found in elevated Fortunes, nor will that Illustrious D A M E be confined to Pallaces, but the Country Cottage doth sometimes afford the World Heroes, who from their Clods of Earth, their Ploughs and Spades, have ascended to the height of Honour.

These Considerations ought to quicken those in the most inferiour Station to be Emulators of those Ensamples of Virtue gone before them, and encourage themselves with Hopes, that by a patient persevering in Well-doing, treading in their Steps, having Incouragements with Opportunities, they may justly aspire at that Honour and Glory, that others before them have compassed.

But

But as his Mind should be aspiring, and qualified with Courage and Bravery, being undaunted, fearing nothing but Shame; and as his Inside is adorned with generous Virtues, so his Outside should also have that of a comely Presence, strong and manly, rather tall than little, and used to the Fatigues of riding; not such as are taken from Towns or Cities, where, by an effeminate Life, they are made tender, and unfit for the Hardships of a Camp. He should be young in Years, from Twenty to Forty; for Nature gives such Impressions to Age, that ill Habits are not easily rectified; but an old Trooper is a useful Member if grown so under Service, whose Skill in Horsemanship

manship need not be questioned, which Knowledge all should at first bring with them. As the choice of the Man is made, so should also the Horse in some measure correspond; who should neither be young nor old, but strong-set, well-limbed, and not of a great heavy make, yet large, and full chested, short, and strongly coupled and jointed, of clean Limbs, and good Feet, such as will stand Fire: It is in *Germany* where Horses fit for Military Service most abound, nor will any stand Fire like them.

As the Horseman is to be under the Command of his Superiour, so he ought to have the Command of his Horse, that neither Gun nor
Drum

Drum shall disorder nor make him break his Rank. Our Trooper should be as careful of his Horse, as of himself, and by being diligent, careful and obedient to Order, fearing his Captain more than his Enemy, he may come to attain to that Preferment that his Merit calls for.

Of the Brigadier, or Corporal.

TH E Captain singles him out from among the eldest of the Troopers, as judging him best qualified and experienced; he is to the Horse, what a Corporal or Serjeant is to the Foot; in the Quartermaster's Absence he supplieth his Place. To discharge

discharge his Duty well he must be no Stranger to Writing: It is from him that the Captain expects an Account of all Omissions and Disorders, with a List of the Horse and Men, and of the Condition they are in. When upon Duty, by the Major's Order, he sets the Vedetes, whom he directs; to prevent Remisness he often visits, and in due time relieves them. It is his Province to instruct the Troopers, also what Forrage and Provisions are handed to him from the Quartermaster, he distributes.

Of the Quarter-master.

HE is as a Steward to the Troop, so should be prudent, intelligent and faithful, being intrusted with their Subsistence. Courage, Resolution and Diligence, ought to be his Qualifications; from him is expected a particular List of the Mens Names, and Places from whence they are, with whom he is to reckon, pay, and discount. He sets down the Orders given him by his Officers, and visits the Mens Quarters and Stables, and doth see that all be in Order from the Horseman to the least of his Accouterments, that from the
L Bridle

Bridle to a Girth there be nothing wanting. The Ammunition also is his Care, which he distributes, whether in the Field or Garrisons, and takes Care that their Quarters be ready before their arrival. He is to be at the Captains Quarters Morning and Evening, to carry the Orders he hath received from his Major. He commands Detachments, and conducts them to their Place of Rendezvous.

His great Business is to see that the Troopers live in their Quarters in good order, and that Complaints be silenced, and Grievances redressed.

Thus by keeping good Quarter, and assigning Quarters, he hath given him the Name of *Quarter-master*.

Of

Of the Cornet.

THis Post is the first Step to Honour, being expensive is fit only for such as have Estates, or are Gentlemen. This Station is not so troublesome as honourable, and should be filled up by a Man of Quality, as his first Essay; and if he hath before made a Campaign as a Volunteer, he is the fitter for this Post: But tho' Favour should have introduced him, yet if his Inclination were the moving Cause, Success may be expected; for where generous Sentiments do put upon quest for Glory, there Obedience will become easy,

and he will readily execute his Superiour's Orders, and will set all his good Qualifications on work to compass his desired end.

There is in a natural Propensity to a desired Object an occult quality that leads Soul, Body, and all its Faculties, like a Torrent with Impetuosity to it, so that when Military Honour is the Thing aimed at, from thence may reasonably be expected great Things.

It is the Cornet's Duty to carry the Standard when the Troop marches, as at Musters, at the Guards, and in Battel he is to bear it himself, and Death should rather be his Choice, than part with that Badge of Honour, since his Personal Reputation, and that

that of his Troop, depends thereon. If at any time he suffers it to be carried, it ought to be by one of the stoutest, and comeliest in the Troop. In the Lieutenans's Absence he commands. He is to shew submissive Respects to his Superiors, and to carry himself obligingly to all; for to make Friends, and to have no Enemies, is the way to Preferment.

Of the Lieutenant.

HE is the Captain's Substitute, in whose Absence he hath the Care of the Troop, so should have Courage, Experience and Prudence to know how to act in his

L 3 place.

place. He gives Information of Omissions or Commissions, and of all that relates to the Troop. To make the better Inspection he visits the Men, and views their Horses; and recommends to them the care of their Arms as well as Horses, and should carry himself so as to be loved and feared. The *Brigadier* and *Quarter-master* are to be encouraged and countenanced by him in performing their Duty, that nothing be suffered to be amiss.

Of the Captain of Horse.

WITH the Qualifications of Courage and Conduct, he is to have Experience in his own, and others Business; he leads his Troop where commanded, and accordingly gives Orders to those under him; he instructs, and leads his Men on, and off, and takes Care they be well mounted, and armed, that all be in good order. He discourages Debauchery as the Weakener of Purse and Body, and the inlet to Pilfering and Effeminacy; to prevent which, hard Duty and frequent Exercises may be conducing. The good Cap-

tain will therefore himself see that his Men be duly exercised, that upon any sudden occasion they may be fit to be drawn out for Service. He will encourage Well-doers, and give publick Marks of Favour to provoke Emulators to make themselves worthy of the like, by which means he will gain Love, especially when his Men perceive that they are personally by Name taken notice of. Our Captain, if indued with a generous Soul, doth influence those about him to give him Respect and Esteem; for whose Heart would not run after him that values Virtue and Honour more, than all the World besides, even than Life it self, which he regards not when the Publick Interest

rest and his Reputation is the Question ?

It is not to be doubted but he that moves in this Station, hath by long Service and Personal Merit attained this Post, where before having learned to obey, he knows the better to command, and upon all Occasions how to behave himself whether under good or bad Events, so as that he will not give opportunity, nor suffer any to be let slip, but will take hold of all Occasions, and give the Enemies none.

Being thus qualified he will be feared, and obeyed, which in Military Affairs is of absolute necessity ; for though some Injunctions may seem to be but of small moment, and that their Non-observance

ance may appear to be a Matter of no Consequence, yet little Omissions often prove fatal ; therefore all Orders should be punctually observed,

Of the Colonel of Horse.

IT is expected he be a Man of Honour, Merit and Experience ; if he hath formerly commanded in the Foot Service, he is the fitter for this Station. He leads the Regiment to Action whether in the Van, Rear-guard, or main Body ; and if Merit hath introduced him, then he marches with the more assurance. His great Care should be, that all under his Com-

Command discharge their Duty, that nothing be wrong, but that his Prince be well served, and that Things be so carried, that his Honour may not suffer any Reflection, therefore he will have the Men often drawn up, exercised, and mustered, and will rather have Supernumeraries, than that his Numbers should not be compleat.

It is the Honour of a Colonel that it should be so; it is his Credit to have his Regiment well Manned, mounted and armed; some would chuse rather to retrench from their own Property, than suffer any defect in their Power to redress: Which honourable Pride is not prejudicial to their particular Interest; for when the time of
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disbanding comes, those Regiments are likeliest to be retained, where each Man looks like an Officer, and each Officer like a General Commander ; and upon a View they will have not only honourable Encomiums from their Prince, but in likelihood will be of those that shall be retained when other Regiments shall be broken. Thus by making others do their Duty, he discharges his own, and thereby deserves the Name of Colonel.

Of the Major-General of Horse.

IT is highly conducive for the good of the Army, that those in this Post be qualified, for the executive part depends on him, which is the more difficult from intervening Accidents, change of Place, and from Reports; therefore good Sense, Courage and Conduct, should not be wanting, for the receiving and giving Orders is his Province, and upon good Grounds he gives Information of all Proceedings even to small Accidents; all which, to prevent Mistakes, should be set down in writing.

Thus

Thus the Major - General must join with Force Wisdom, and with his Courage Skill, and couple the Foxes Tail and Lyon's Skin together.

Of the Lieutenant-General of Horse.

HE should be a Person cut out by Nature for great Things, one whose Experience and Judgment should be such, that all Things may be easy to him, who being versed in every Man's Duty, and having Courage, is placed thereby above being in a Hurry tho' in the midst of Confusion; then it is that Judgment may

may be of greater use than the Sword.

When Persons are elevated to this Station, if they have Personal Merit their Authority will be much more advanced, than if Birth, Quality, or Eldership had preferred them. Persons thus qualified are deservedly stiled the Generals Eyes and Hands, for they do act as Occasion and Prudence requires, as well in reference to offend, as defend, or to secure the Camp, and answer Supplies. His Care is awake Night and Day for Camp and Quarters, to surprize or prevent Surprizes, which being regularly performed whatever the Success may be, yet he loses no Honour; and though Envy speaks well of none, yet
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his Courtesie, Affability and Humanity to all, with Generosity and seasonable Liberality, accompanied with a free and an open Table, will conquer even Malice it self, and make the most malevolent join in Ecchoing forth the Commendations of this our Captain, who in this shews himself great, in that he acts and lives like himself, as well in Quality as Merit.

Of the General.

IT may be said, That he is not only one of ten thousand, but even sometimes the one of more than a hundred thousand; and so deserving he may be, as to be more worth than many thousands of the rest. Such was the Voice of the People in *David's* time, they very well knew that the Body must suffer in common with their Head, therefore their Care was in a particular manner to preserve that, as the Means on which their Preservation depended. As he is the greatest so he ought to be the most excellent in all Heroick Qualifications,
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and Noble by Birth. Tho' this Post may be conferred as a Recompence to Virtue and Merit, where noble Birth is not, yet this Place is best adorned when filled by a Person of Honour, and one that is born great, whose Quality shall give him a Reputation, which when therewith indued with Virtue, Experience, Conduct, Liberality, and Affability, and these accompanied with an awful Majestick Mean; he shall thereby influence Love and Fear in all concerned with him. As he is the greatest so he ought to be the most deserving, which Desert will set a Lustre on all his Commands and Actions. This eminent Post in which he moves, makes all good and evil

evil Successes to be most remarkably his, and as the Honour, so the Faults lie at his door. There are few Faults, but the Consequences of them are small in comparison of those committed in Military Affairs; for where an Army is routed, and thousands cut down, Countries and Towns pillaged, destroyed and burnt, besides the dishonour of a shameful Flight, and sneaking into Holes and Corners, whilst the Enemy rides in Triumph over Bag and Baggage, and the Honour and Reputation of the Conquered, which sinister Accident is attended with so many Discouragements, that the Loss and Dishonour is seldom or never retrieved, except Despair gives new wings to *Action*.

But when Success followeth our Hero at the Heels how honourable is it in particular to himself, and how useful to his Prince, and Country, which gives occasion for his being registered in History, where Posterity finds him a Monument of Fame left on Record for future Ages to imitate. In short, as his Faults are irreparable, and cause Sadnesses, Sorrows, Tears and Lamentations, Miseries and Slaveries; so the contrary gives Joy even to Transports, and fills the Mouths of each with Acclamations, and Expressions of Praise; and whereas the one hath Death and Desolations writ in the Countenance, so the other hath painted Joy and Gladness, to which every
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Motion of their Bodies are so many Contributors to express it.

Thus it appears requisite, That the General be not only great as to his Birth, but also as to his Personal Merit; and to say all, a Soldier, who with these Qualifications if attended with Success, will have his Head crowned with Honour. But if Fortune prove unconstant, then the most reasonable Attempts will be condemned, though he may deserve by his Conduct more Honour than the Conqueror. But why speak I of Fortune, as if Providence did not predominate over Human Affairs? This Fortune is no more than a Chimera, the Idol of Fools, for though Success be attributed

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buted to her, yet it is God that gives the Victory ; it is not always to the Wise, nor the Strong, nor yet to Numbers , to whom Success is given , God reserves to himself the disposal of Victory that none might boast. But single Instances of God's Power are not to be relied on ; for tho' he hath been pleased to give Victory by disproportionable Means , as that one should kill a thousand, and a few put ten thousand to Flight , yet in our Days we have no Reason to expect such Miracles , but rather Deliverances, by a course of means which God himself hath appointed , and recommended by his Examples to Mankind, not suffering his own Armies (among whom
he

he had set up his Standard) to enter upon Action in their promised Land, till they were become a Multitude; and we may as well expect Health and length of Days, without Food and Physick, as Preservation in War without necessary Preservatives; among which Preservatives, the wise General deserves the first Place, as being the chief Means, if qualified, and for those other Necessaries required they must be had in readiness in time; thus being well supplied, and armed, and the Duty wisely and faithfully discharged, the Success must be left to God.

Since Military Means are so necessary, and that the General is the Head, there-

fore he is supposed to have Qualifications to fit him for Action, and to command People, and Countries at home and abroad, and that he have a Tincture of Literature and Arts, that he be not imposed on by bold Recommenders of Trifles. Also to be provident and liberal, are requisite Qualifications. He should be a Prince in his Temper, yet sparing where Reason calls for it, not believing himself lessened by taking Cognizance of the minutest Things relating to good Husbandry, that Stores be not wasted: The preventing Spoil and Havock is as much the Province of a General, as those more sublime Actions of Battels, Sieges and Surprises; by good Husbandry.

bandry, and a provident Care, Multitudes may be preserved from Want and sinister Accidents. Also the General, with his other Acquirements, should know the Country where the Seat of War may be carried on, therefore in time of Peace Rural Recreations, as Hunting and Hawking, may inform his Knowledge; by which means he may be acquainted with Inclosures, Unevenness of Ground, the Champion Country, Marches, Roads, narrow Passages, the Knowledge of which is useful to all Military Men. To be an accomplished Captain is obtained by great Labour and Industry; and though they may be born Soldiers, yet Experience is not attained
but

170 *Observations, &c. of the*
but by Care and Application,
as appears by the great Work
he hath to do ; on which
depends his Care in reference
to

*Incampments, or Lodgings,
Marches, Ingagements,
Sieges, which are a mixture of
Incamping and Ingaging.*

All which fall to be spoken
of in the next Place in their
Order. And First

of

*Of Incampments or Lodgings,
of which there are three sorts.*

THE First is when an Army is on the Wing, waiting every moment for Orders to march.

The Second is when an Army hath surrounded a Place in order to a Siege.

The Third Incampment is when the Army is in Apprehensions of an Enemy, and so obliged to regulate its Motions with Caution; then where Nature is found defective, Art should supply by casting up proper Works for Security.

To

To which end he is to have in his Eye not only the Place where he is to Incamp, or Lodge, but also to consider the number of his Enemies with reference to his own, and to regulate his Motions to *Offend* and *Defend*; so that in Incampments or Lodgments he must have a regard to the Situation of Ground, whether Mountainous, Champion, or replenished with Villages: It is not always in the choice of a General to incamp where he desires, but is necessitated to take such Measures as present Circumstances will permit, though he aims at the being Master of rising Grounds, and to have the Benefit of Water and Wood, and if possible of all narrow Accesses situated near him,

him, and accordingly he causes Intrenchments. A Champion Country is much more to be desired, than to have the Army disperfed in Villages, being more healthful, and lefs expofed to Incursions and Surprizes, and thereby better capacitated through the means of Intrenchments, to Offend and Defend. Alfo Incampments fhould be chofen for the Conveniency of conveying Supplies; for Obstructions on fuch Occafions have caufed the Ruin of great Bodies, and occafioned unfeafonable Decampments, and fo given that Victory to thofe, which otherwife might have leaft expected it, had the Paffages been open and free.

Of Marches.

HERE is Secrecy required, whether it be to surprize an Army, a Party, or Place, or that it be to prevent being surprised in Marching, to which Speed, Diligence and Secrecy is recommended ; for the being out-done, or the out-doing an Enemy in Marches, may prove the unhinging of Affairs for that Campaign to the one or the other, and sometimes proves the loss of advanced Troops, or of the Rear ; and many ill Consequences attend such whose Unhappiness it hath been to be surprised. All Marches
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are regulated according to the Country, either in order of Battel, or in different Bodies; and if they cannot come to their appointed Place by several Ways to lodge in one Body, then they are to lodge as they march, for sometimes Rivers and Hills, with other Inconveniencies of Ground, may cause a greater Compass to be made, than desired, so no exprefs Rules can be given: Therefore Care is to be had in Marching for the Preservation of the Men, and Safety of the Artillery and Carriages, and to be armed against any Accident. It may be sometimes advisable to take different Roads; and if Decampments are made in the sight of the Enemy, then secure the Out-Quarters

Quarters to prevent being surpris'd ; and though the Enemy were distant, yet Caution and Diligence is to be used according to the Nature of the way the Army marches as if he were at hand ; for the manner of Marches varies according to the Places through which they are to pass, with respect to the Enemies distance, and number of Carriages, no Rules can be given, such are the numerous intervening Accidents ; though some have laid down *Methods* for all sorts of *Marches*, yet none can be tied up to them, so that they are increased or diminished as may best answer the ends of securing the whole. Also by *Marches* and *Counter-marches*, there
may

may accrue to the General as much Honour, as if he had gained a Victory, for an Enemy may thereby be baffled without Fighting.

Of Engagements.

THE Gain or Loss of a Battel is of the greatest Consequence, and is attended with such various Circumstances, that it is hard to say any thing where so many Accidents may change the Scene, and call for new Methods.

Engagements are not to be undertaken without the greatest Consideration, and that there be a Necessity drawn from Reason to defend

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or

or assault ; the wise Captain will be always armed against Accidents, and if possible will secure such Ground as may best sute his Number of Horse and Foot, with the Advantages of being Master of Rivers, Woods, narrow Passes, rising Grounds ; and if the Wind and Sun will favour the Cause, it is so much the better. He will also have regard to the manner and form of Battel, and to the times of Ingagings whether by Night or Day, good or bad Weather, and that with respect to the Place ; also the Numbers and Condition of the Enemy, with their manner of Practise.

But seeing nothing contributes more to a Conquest than Stratagems, therefore
good

good Intelligence is necessary, and Spies useful, that Discoveries may be made of their Affairs and Motions, as the manner of their Incampments, their Numbers, Intentions, Supplies; also setting active Spirits a-work to disperse Reports and promote Disorders, may be necessary: No Mony is better imployed than what is spent on Spies and Guides, for by their Intelligence Measures are taken; and accordingly Horse and Foot are disposed so that they may best succour each other: To effect which, a Foresight and Presence of Mind, with an Eye every where, is requisite to regulate Affairs for the Benefit and Security of the Army, which ought more to be re-

garded than to offend an Enemy by destructive Measures; a Fault of which some great Men have been guilty, not caring so they did but attain their Ends how dearly it was purchased, nor how many perished, so the Victory were but obtained.

What need more be said than that, whether there be occasion for retiring or pursuing, there is always required Virtue, Industry and Courage, never to appear but with such Resolution as may give Hopes though in the midst of Dispair? A regard also is to be had to the Pursurers, and Pursued, of the Captives and Wounded, as well Enemies as Friends, for Mercy and good Quarters should ever be the Portion of the Unhappy. After

After the Ingagement is over, Thanks should be returned by both Parties; for the greatest Sufferers may find Matter of Thanks, that Things are not worse, and that they are left Monuments of Mercy at a time when Death reigned so, that perhaps there might not have been left living sufficient to bury their Dead, which makes the return of Praise more reasonable in those that remain living.

N 3

As

As to Sieges, they are a mixture of Incamping and Ingaging.

TOWNS as well as Persons have a Fate that hangs over them ; for as there is none which first or last have not been more or less besieged with Humane Infirmities incident to them, so there are few Towns that ever escaped the Fate of being besieged , though Time may have worn out the Memory thereof. Such Designs ought to be carried on with Secresie, and feigned Marches and Counter-marches , amusing the Enemy by giving a Jeal-

Jealousie to adjacent Places, as if the Storm were to fall on them each in particular, that through Incertainties, not knowing where the Storm will fall, they may be obliged to divide their Forces, which may give opportunity to surprize the Enemy, when they shall not know where to send Supplies. After having secured the Avenues, then with Diligence proceed to Action, for the sudden setting down before a Place gives Terror; which being invirioned, then Egrefs and Regrefs is to be prevented, and the Camp is to be secured by Lines of Circumvallation and Countervallation, which are a Shelter from the Enemies Sallies, and from Attacks from without. Also

Provisions are to be secured coming to the Camp, which cannot well be effected if the Besiegers be not Masters of the Field.

Early Information is to be had of the Situation of the Place, how Manned, and stored, and of its various sort of Works and Avenues, with the manner how the Ground and Rivers lie, that Approaches may be Regular, and the Enemies prevented being relieved; that Heights be secured that the Camp be not annoyed. Also Portable Bridges are to be provided for passing Rivers, and to facilitate Communication. The chief Commander being vers'd in the Ingenier's Business, can the better satisfy himself in all Advances made, whe-

whether of Approaches , Lodgments and Works , of what Nature soever. As to Mines , though necessary , yet are they to be suspected, for Countermines make them perilous, and often prove the Grave of those who designed them for their Enemies Destruction. That Labour in that kind may not be lost, Care ought to be taken to dispose them so, that instead of being a Service, they may not prove a Prejudice to the Enterpriser. In all respects Precaution is necessary, whether it be to carry on a vigorous Siege, or a lingering one by Blockade.

Believing our Commander accomplished , and that his Merit, not Character of Great only placed him in that Station

tion of Trust, and that he hath more essential Virtues to recommend him than barely his Birth, so needs no Intimations as to Particulars, for Methods daily vary according to Place and Times, new Measures are taken, so that express Directions cannot be given. And every Age improves, and new Discoveries are made, that what may be advisable at this Day, may be laid aside in time to come; general Ideas are only here given. What follows to be spoke of is of defending Places when attacked.

Of defending Places.

TH E R E is no Place impregnable; for as was replied by a Warlike Prince, to one who boasted of the Strength of a Fortified Town, *That he never questioned Success if open at the top.* Delays may be made, and by Courage and Resolution Time may be prolonged; but when an Army comes armed with Resolution and Strength, the strongest Place at last must yield; though many times Providence hath frustrated Intentions from the lateness of the Year, the coldness or wetness of the Season, and from unforeseen Wants or fur-

surprising Accidents. Necessity hath taught Men the Art of Fortification, to supply the defects of Nature by additional Works, which Art hath from Time to Time improved ; and though no Place can be made impregnable, yet Fortified Garrisons are Hindrances to the progress of an Enemy.

Seeing Bulworks are thus necessary to Frontiers, and rubs in an Enemies way, which amuse while Time is gained : Therefore Fortified Places should be timely supplied with Necessaries, and such Governors as have Qualifications for their Trust, of known Fidelity and Merit. Favour and Affection ought not to take place in such Cases ; a Sovereign may be de-

deceived by a Favourite's Recommendation, who for Mony, or Affection to his Friends, may introduce unfit Objects, who as they bought their Trust with Mony, may sell the Place for the same Mettal; sometimes a Mule loaden with Gold hath taken such Fortresses, that have been reckoned amongst the number of impregnable ones. The Sovereign's own Experience of the Governor ought to take place, he should be induced therefrom to make his Choice, for without Treachery Garisons are sufficiently exposed to Accidents; the Men may be wearied, spent, and sick, through over hard Duty. Also Magazines may be blown up, and Want may reign, that Friends within

within may become a part of the Danger, as well as the Enemies from without.

Another Inconveniency is that Princes are often deceived, and made believe that Places are better stored than they really are; therefore Inspection should be made, that what is intended as a Garranty against unforeseen Accidents, may not be employed in Luxury and Ostentation; for such is the Prodigality of some, and Covetousness of others in Trust, that to gratifie their Vice they will rather have full Bags, than see their Prince's Magazines well stored; and care not, though the Soldiers be clothed with Rags, and beg for that Bread that their detained Pay would have given

given them. But some will chuse rather profusely to spend , than supply the Wants of these miserable ones. It is not only Mony that is aimed at, but they exhaust the very Stores, and Powder , and that on Saint's Days , and at other times of Jollities also , without regarding the Consequence to have Magazines emptied , whether through Covetousness, Vanity or Zeal, for some Tutelar Saint. But they hope the evil Day may not come in their time.

To prolong a Siege Out-works are necessary to keep the Enemy at a distance, in which one Man is sufficient to answer ten without. There should be a sufficient Strength of Horse and Foot,
and

and proportionably Stores for both, with Requisites to make new Works , and for repairing Breaches. Let frequent Sallies be made , but by a few ; it is better than with great Numbers , for it prevents Disorders in retiring. A few resolute Men in two Hours may destroy , what great Numbers cannot repair in many Days. They should be frequent , and at uncertain Hours ; if vigorously carried on, they may keep the Enemy at a distance. All Fortifications without , and Provisions within, should be timely effected, that the Enemy may find the Place provided , and in good order. Let the useful Inhabitants be employed, and the useless sent away ; have a Scrutiny
made

made into all Stores, and let Care be taken that nothing be concealed nor imbezel'd; that the Soldiery be spared from working, allotting them their Hours of Rest, with Incouragements to attack or defend their Works and Breaches.

When a Governour hath done all possible, and that no Succours comes, and that the Garrison is straightened, and no appearance how to prevent falling into the Enemy's Hands, having discharged his Trust, it is then his Duty timely to capitulate, as much as it was before to maintain the Place; after which he may with Honour appear before his Prince, from whom he deserves Encomiums for his Fidelity and good Conduct,

O

duct, and for his timely saving himself, and those that remained with him by a timely Rendition, reserving himself and them for better Fortune, than to be exposed to be sacrificed in a Storm by the Enemy.

Faults in War are irreparable, for the Commander hath but that moment of Action to manage, which if let slip, or is mis-implied is not retrievable, therefore he is concerned to consider what sort of People he hath to do with, that accordingly he may arm himself with Resolution. There are some of such hot fiery Spirits, that to stand their first Brunt requires great Resolution, which Ardency being allayed, are much easilier managed. Such

Such Furioso's meeting with Discouragements become so unspirited, that they often with their Courage lose the Honour of the Day; such can hardly if ever be got to rally again; while others more obstinate will weather their Difficulties, whose Courage increases by opposition, and will maintain their Ground, or sell every Inch at a dear Rate.

Some Nations have signaliz'd themselves in making brave Attacks, falling on with Vigour and Gallantry; and others by a persevering Obstinacy have shewn their Courage standing like Rocks, and bearing the Shock and Storms of the Assailants. As some have the Reputation for taking Places, so others

have signaliz'd themselves in defending them. Also there are those which are very expeditious in making Incurfions and Inroads, of incredible lengths. Some make speedy Conquests, but let them go as soon; like the Northern People, who have over-run Nations, yet never established any Empire; they were great Enterprisers, but their Government like a Morning-Dew soon vanished, and like Thunder and Lightning they gave Terror and Amazement, but was of no continuance.

Of

*Of the Artillery, and the Officers
belonging thereunto.*

ARtillery in an Army is a great Contributor to Victory, though a Cumber and a Charge, that formerly the World was not acquainted with; but now is become so essential to the carrying on a War, that no Victory can be expected where it is not; therefore great Provisions are made of Guns and Powder, whose Invention surely was borrowed from Lightning and Thunder, both having the same effects to give Terror and to do Mischief; but their Noise animates the Spirits of those engaged in Action.

The Charge is great, for many are the Materials of which an Artillery is composed; for besides Guns of all sizes, with Powder and Ball, there are Mortars, Petards, Bombs, Grenadoes, and other Ingines of Destruction, with Combustibles for Fireworks; all which require Carriages that have their Drivers, and Artificers at hand, as Gunners, Smiths, Carpenters, &c. Also Instruments for breaking Ground, raising Batteries, making Trenches and Mines, &c. And with the number of Necessaries, there must be found Pontons, Ladders, &c. that whatever Accident arrives, there may be nothing wanting. Also for Subsistence there must be Grain of all
forts

forts for Horfe and Men,
with Mills, and Ovens; all
which, when together, fwells
to fo great a Bulk, that this
Warlike Retinue alone looks
like an Army, and is under
the Conduct

Of the General of the Artillery.

WH O ought to be a
Man of Quality,
having Experience of the par-
ticular Offices and Bufinefs of
every one under his Com-
mand, and to know what
is neceffary for the under-
taking any Enterprize, whe-
ther in the Field, or at Sieges,
among the reft that of the
Duty of the Ingenier, there-
fore he fhould be verfed in

the Mathematicks, the better to judge of the Merit of those in that Post ; whether they have Courage as to dare expose themselves ; and also in Arts, if able to improve Fortifications, to mend Faults, and to make a true Judgment of Heights, Depths and Distances, and to point accordingly to the best Advantage ; also how to make Approaches and Lodgments, and to place and raise Batteries, and with safety advance his Works.

It is the General of the Artillery's Care that none be in Posts, but such as are capable to discharge them ; as also, that there be no want of necessary Munitions of War, nor Provisions of any sort ; that Stores be not imbezeld nor decayed, but that
timely

timely Recruits be made in all
Particulars.

Of Provisions.

Without Provisions
great Bodies cannot
be kept together, who are a
continual Consumption of
Stores, whose particular num-
bers ought to be well known,
and additional Allowances
made, lest there be a falling
short. That there may be no
Waste, there is a Purveyor
appointed who procures also
Supplies, and appoints pro-
per Places for Stores, with
the times when they are to
be delivered out; and that he
see there be a proportionable
number of Bakers, who with
all

Observations, &c. of the
all the other Officers relating
to the Stores , are under the
Command of a

Commissary-General.

WHO ought to be a Man
of Authority, not covetous , but faithful , vigilant , and skilled in buying and chusing the best, and disposing all to the best Advantage, for the Good, Ease, and Conveniency of the Army ; and that what is procured may be conveyed under safe Convoy : This Care is the more necessary , in that the Welfare of an Army depends thereon ; for Want destroys more than Fatigues, or ranged Battels. Therefore Supplies

plies are made before the Army march ; and all Things are to be regulated , that there be no occasion for Complaint.

The ill managing this Trust may ruin the hope-fullest Enterprize ; the Thoughts of finding Supplies on the Place are not to be relied on, but he is to arm himself for the worst , for the Enemy may have either carried off or destroyed the Effects. Therefore Magazines are to be dispersed for the best Advantage for the reception of Stores , of which there should be provided before-hand in the Camp a competent Provision for a certain time , that Disappointments may not bring Disorder. Therefore Supplies should
never

never move without strong Convoys, who should have their Marches appointed at uncertain times. Also Inspection is to be taken that there be no Abuses from the Keepers, nor Deliverers of Stores, nor from Sutlers, and that such as are found Offenders in that kind be made publick Examples.

Of the Baggage.

AS the Artillery is a cumbersome Body, so we may say of the Baggage that it is a very troublesome Equipage, which in some Places exceeds more than in others, and that from the Negligence of those that should see Abuses

ses regulated, by reducing the Bulk to a less Compass; to effect which, each Soldier with his Arms and Budget should carry some Days Provisions with him, for those most inured to Fatigue are the likeliest to obtain Victory; for it is observable, that as those who can keep fresh Troops for Action to the last, so those that can weather Want, and indure Labour longest, are likeliest to obtain the Victory. But where Idleness reigns, so that every Soldier must have his On-hanger, what can be expected from such slothful Companions? Therefore that loose Gang that follows Camps should be discouraged, for from these it is that Effeminacy, Want, and Diseases,
are

are ingender'd. But seeing there is so great Trouble to preserve this so cumbersome Luggage, and that when lost is attended with so much Dishonour, and is so prejudicial, bringing such irremediable Disorders, therefore it is advisable, that the Baggage be reduced to as small a Retinue as possible.

Of the Master of the Waggon.

HIS Business is to take charge of all Carriages, to order their Marches, to see them quartered, and supplied with Necessaries for Horse and Man. He should have under his Command Persons skilled in the Roads,
and

and in driving with such a number of Artificers as may answer any Misadventure that may happen in the way.

He ought to have been brought up to driving, and himself to understand the Roads through which he is to pass. His Business is to take daily Inspection into his Crew, and timely to supply Defects of both Man and Horse, and that all be kept in good order.

Of

*Of the Subservients to the Army;
as Aides de Camp, Chaplains,
Physicians, Chirurgeons,
Provosts, Guides, Spies.*

Of Aides de Camp.

THIS is a Post for a Gentleman, whose Business is to attend the General. He is as an honourable Messenger that carrieth his Orders, which are not to be questioned. It is requisite that he have Courage, Wit, and Fidelity, which with the Annex of Prudence, by improving himself and being

ing faithful, he may procure
his Advancement.

Of Chaplains.

THEY are Spiritual
Guides to regulate the
Immoralities. As there are
Directors for the disciplining
and using Arms; so each Re-
giment should have its Chap-
lain to direct them in Prin-
ciples, and Conduct of good
Manners. He ought to be a
Man of good Example, one
that carrieth in his Front the
Character of Virtue, that his
very Presence should be an
Awe, and a Restraint to Li-
centiousness.

*Of Physicians , Apothecaries
and Chirurgeons.*

THEY are that to the Body which the Priest is to the Soul ; for the Health of both they are consulted, with this difference, the one gives his Moral Lectures in Health , as well as Sickness, while the others Business is only when Sick or Wounded, then they make Applications, and apply their Remedies. Each Regiment should have of these a competent number, as so many Supplements of Health, that none be neglected ; that it be not said, That more die for want of Skill, Means, and due Attendance,

tendance, than by Sword or Shot. These Functions are honourable, and useful, and require suitable Incouragements; under which Head it may be no Digression to say, That it is the Phisician's Duty to have an Inspection into the Medicines, that he see they be good, and of Quantities sufficient to answer all Contingencies.

Of Spies and Guides.

THEY are so necessary that without them the General would be in the dark, as to what Measures he should take in reference to the Enemy. There ought to be many of both sorts, each

a Stranger to the other ; and as one gives Information of the Country , its Ways and Passes , so the other doth of the Enemies Motions , and Actings , and what is intended ; these ought to be encouraged , but their Intelligence should not much be relied on, for sometimes false Informations and sham Intentions are spread abroad to amuse ; and though among so great a number of Informers some may be unfaithful, yet Truth may be picked out, and Use may be made of their different Informations ; what Mony is spent on these Occasions should never be regreted.

Of the General-Provost.

IN the Army he is the Minister of Justice, by him Vice is restrained, and the Irregular kept in order: He is both the Informer, and Punisher of Offences; it is in his Province to regulate the Prices of Goods. He ought to be of an even Temper, unbyassed, and one that dares do right without respect of Persons.

Of an Army.

IT is a confused Chaos of armed Hirelings, a moving World, whose Business is to destroy; it is their Trade, and the Work which Nature seems to have cut them out for. This their so boisterous Imployment hath qualified them with unpolished Minds, as well as with rough Bodies, with which they are capacitated to assault, defend, and pursue; to carry on which Work there is requisite, with their Strength, personal Courage and Valour.

This unwieldy Bulk is a most unfatiable, ravenous
Ani-

Animal composed of Horse and Foot, under the Command and Conduct of a Chief, by whose Care it is supported by the Use of Gold and Silver, with Provisions for the Mouth, and War, without which Helps this great Bulk would soon melt and dwindle to nothing. Therefore the General's Care is to pay, and feed them, and to find them Action. But though they call them Men of Mettle, yet their Substance is neither Brass, Iron, nor Steel, for their Nature calls for a wherewith to support them answerable to their Stations, whether Foot or Horse, without which Courage will droop, and their Spirits will sink, and die with their hopes. But it is not sufficient

Observations, &c. of the
 to care for the Subsistence of
 this unwieldy Body ; for it
 must be made useful by Dis-
 cipline, and to keep it in or-
 der , Justice must be exer-
 cised , without which Con-
 fusion will follow : Which
 leads us to the next Head,
viz.

Military Discipline.

Discipline is the Liga-
 ment that binds great
 Bodies and Societies , so that
 they hang together and be-
 come Corporate ; the World
 could not continue without
 Discipline , it being in the
 Body-Politick as Nerves and
 Sinews are in the Body-Na-
 tural , that makes Bones ,
 Joints,

Joints and Limbs hang together, and thereby useful to the whole Man.

If Discipline in Civil Society is necessary, it will appear much more in reference to Armies, where are assembled such numbers of the Dregs of Mankind, many of them being such that it seems as if the Places where they lived had spued them out as Nufances, even as the Stomach doth that which offends it; for Armies are the common Receptacle of all sorts, by which Ages from time to time are purged from their so vicious Humors. It may therefore then be asserted, That to such a Body that is composed of so many loose Corn and Chaff, (tho' there may be some good Grain among

among them, yet seeing that the other makes the most numerous part) it is necessary there should be appointed a rigorous Discipline, without which instead of being useful they would become the Plague, and Ruin of that Country and Place that raised them for their Safety. Therefore Military Laws should be kept up, that Virtue may be encouraged and recompensed, and Offenders find exemplary Punishments; to prevent which Grievance, let the Soldiers be kept in Action, and be inured to the daily Practice of Military Exercises, as the several Motions of their Bodies, the Use of their Arms; which should be practised by Horse and Foot, as being essentially

tially conducive to Victory.

It is of absolute Necessity that Soldiers be inured to Labour, for thereby Health is preserved, and Money not only spared, but gotten; let therefore their idle Hours be filled up by Labour, whether in Fortifications or other Work; it is good in Peace or War to keep them employed, thereby Wants may be supplied, and by often using their Arms they are kept from Rust: Also the Soldier by Labour and Exercise, is preserved from many Evils and Irregularities, and sinful Shifts. By Industry not only Corporal Punishments are prevented, but even Death it self; for when Men are given up to
Idle-

Idleness, it exposes them to Shame and Extremity. But Labour is a bitter Root, tho' it bear happy Fruit, and hath Salutary Effects, for Victory is more likely to be the Lot of the Laborious, than the Effeminate and Idle; the former hath a right to it from Merit, it being the Portion of the Diligent and Industrious.

But to proceed further, the inducing Causes why such great Bodies are gather'd together, are either from Necessity, Ambition, Honour, or Lucre, and some through hopes thereby to live uncontrolled licentiously, to bridle such, and that Necessities may be supplied, and Opportunities given to gratifie Emulators of Honour, and
that

that Virtue may not be unrecompensed, nor Vice unpunished. Therefore it is that Military Laws are made, and Obedience enjoined, and a severe Discipline established, which cannot be infringed without the Offenders sinning against himself, and his own Interest, nor can any thing go well without an observance to Order; for on that Hinge Obedience, it is that all the parts of that great Body do move, without which nothing can be effected, and for want of which all would go to Ruin and Confusion.

The Benefits of a Military Discipline consist in this, in that it enjoins the observation of Laws, prevents Disorder, gives Honour and Re-
compences

compences to the Deserving. By the Terror of Punishments inflicted on Offenders it is that they are made to fear, by which means many are saved from Shame and Punishments ; even Death hath thereby been prevented, for Fear, Shame and Death, are Barricades that prevent committing many Evils. But 'it is not reasonable that those who have listd themselves, and receive their Prince's Pay, should be obedient and conformable to Orders, especially since thereby they are intitled to those Advantages and Incouragements assigned as Recompences to Virtue ; therefore it is but just that those Punishments, they draw on themselves by transgressing , should be
their

their Portion for their Demerits.

But there are not wanting those, who are possessed with this Opinion, That in Camps the Laws lie dormant, as if the Sons of *Mars* and Morality, were incompatible: They alledge, That Armies, for the generality, are composed of the Lees of the People, such whom the Civil Government hath cast off as useless Members, and ungovernable: But this their Reason sheweth a greater necessity for having an established Government to restrain the Vicious, that of useless they may become profitable Instruments, that what the Civil Law could not effect, the Military might produce: Some like Trees in good Ground

Ground are fruitless, but when transplanted (though to a more hungry Soil) become more beneficial to their Proprietors.

But in so mixt a Multitude there are always some found, who have had a Tincture of a generous Education, and are such as will despise sordid Presidents. Herein is the Use of Military Discipline, in that it restrains the Evil from bad Acts, and preserves the Good from a Degeneracy. Let it not seem to be a Digression to inveigh against that crying Evil, **Swearing**, that reigns among the Soldiery, and is one of the roaring Crimes in this Age, and calls for Vengeance: It were well if the Officers would by Example . refrain

refrain this so unprofitable a Vice, which is the less excusable in not having those Inducements that attend other Sins, as Pleasure or Profit. But in Swearing there is neither Honour nor Advantage, nor can there be expected less than some tremendous Judgment for defying Heaven, and calling for Confusion to themselves and others, and that upon every trifling occasion. What shall we say? the Murtherer gratifies his Revenge, the Adulterer his Lust, the Robber his Covetousness; but the Swearer and Curser sell their Souls at the cheapest rate of all other Sinners.

But to proceed; since Armies are the common Receptacle of Libertines, and the

Q

Place

Place (in the Opinion of most) where Vice rides in Triumph, therefore to rectify Disorders, a severe Discipline is set on foot to punish Vice, and encourage Virtue ; for every one hath a natural Propensity to desire Good to himself, and to be preserved from Hurt, who being informed of proposed Rewards for generous Actions, and that a good Demeanor is the way to obtain Honour and Profit, and that thereby the Door is shut against Penal Inflictions ; and as Transgressors meet with due Punishments, so Virtue finds its Rewards. Thus by these Reflections they encourage themselves in doing well, and hereby the Licentious in Armies are restrained, and Re-

Recompences made Inciters to Obedience. Therefore such as do well have Marks of Honour assigned them, and that with more Reason, when the Pay beareth no proportion with the Service performed, and for considerable Nothings they venture their Lives: Therefore that Prince that recompences not Courage shewn on perilous Occasions, may be said to have neither Ears, Eyes, nor Ingenuity; much more those that refuse to give them their ordinary Pay, but instead of Praise and Money, recompence these unhappy ones with Hunger and Want, having served their turns, send them away with discouraging Disappointments. Such Disrespects to Merit, may dis-

Q 2

courage

courage their future exposing themselves. Also others, when they hear of such ill Usage, will never consent to list themselves, unless drawn in, for who will fetter themselves to such Masters?

Those deserve the Epithet of Fools, who for the transitory Pleasures found in committing Evil, expose themselves to Justice; though in Obedience to Laws, particular Criminals may be punished with Regret, yet Military Chastisements must be executed without respect, that others thereby may be deterred from Evil.

Every Man hath a natural Propensity by which he is byassed to his desired Object, whether Good or Evil, so accordingly deserves Rewards
or

or Punishments, as the predominating Passion shall lead them; for to do Good or Evil are separate Acts of the Mind, and are as opposite one to the other, as that of looking up or down. It is thus accordingly to the Choice made, that Punishments or Rewards are intailed, though inflicted sometimes very unwillingly; yet as the Physician orders Physick to recover Health, and to preserve Life, so Military Punishments, according to the Nature of the Fault, ought to be appointed for Chaſtiſements, not Slaughters, in managing the which not only the Nature of the Offence, but the Circumstances of the Person are to be considered; for with some Shame or a private Reprimand,

primand, will have a greater Influence to reform some, than more severe Corrections with others. But some are so hardened, that they are incorrigible, such are only fit to be made publick Examples; to spare some sort of Offenders would be a Sin against the Publick, and a shewing Mercy to such as ought to be made Monuments of Terrour, which may be a President of fatal Consequence to the Publick; for unseasonable Mercies may be reckoned sinful Commiserations, which may occasion Repentance when the Evil is past being retrieved. Peace and War have hitherto been our Subject, let us now say something of that which participates of both, and is neither

ther, which is that called a Truce.

Of a Truce.

A Truce is a Respite, or a Cessation of Arms limited for a certain Time, and for divers Ends, as to bury the Dead, or in order to Peace, &c. Some call it a Camp-Peace, or the Armies Holy-day, where Hostilities cease, though the War doth not. A Truce between *Turks* and Christians differs only in length of Time, and is in effect a Peace, though it carries not the Name.

But with whom soever it is made, it ought to be religiously observed, though it

is best to make no Truce at all, it being but to grant a breathing time to an Enemy that is weary, and desires leisure to recruit Strength, to pursue the War with more Vigour. Truce is neither Peace nor War, but participates of both, and is as the Intervals between Night and Morning, and Day and Night, so it may be called the dawning of the Day, if a Peace succeeds. A Truce hath commonly a Pretence to be in order to a Peace, and to promote it is proposed, though little less is intended than to be a Stratagem to circumvent. Also Experience hath shewn, That Fighting by Stratagems hath often had Success, when open Force could not prevail. Thus a
Cessation

Cessation of Arms hath been fatal to those, who by open Force were thought invincible; these Intervals between Peace and War are not so desirable, could they be avoided, since thereby no Peace is obtained, nor yet is Hostility suffered. This space of time between Peace and War is more vexatious and uneasy than War it self, so that even Extremities are more to be desired, than dilatory Truces.

I question whether it be not better to fall down right, than to hang in suspense? To go on with Resolution is better than to make a stop, since a Pause may not be less dangerous than a Fall; and those that seek a Cessation do give occasion to suspect they
are

are in a miserable Condition, when reduced to that Necessity that they can suffer neither Peace nor War.

In Offensive and Defensive War are two opposite Parties; but there is a third sort that espouses neither Interest, but stand by as Spectators, who are call'd Neuters.

Of Neutrality.

THOSE who will be Neuters will find Reasons to countenance their Neutrality. Some are influenced from private, and some from publick Motives. Also Ambition makes some Neuters, and Covetousness others,

thers, and there are those that from Necessity are so; and some are for blowing the Coals, and cause Clashings between Neighbours, that with the Frog and Mouse they may by the Bird of Prey be seized on with more Ease, and so reap the End designed of; profiting by their difference, when wearied with Fighting. Thus, as is said, Coveteousness also may promote Neutrality, having for end to monopolize to themselves an uninterrupted Commerce, while their Neighbours are imbroiled; for which Reason it may be said, That they feed and profit by their Neighbour's Hurt.

It is a most unhappy Case when Necessity compels to a Neu-

Neutrality, that like *Janus* they are forced to carry two Faces. It is hard to be reduced not to know on which Crutch to rest. They are very unhappy who through Necessity are obliged to a Neutrality, for thereby they run a hazard to lose all, through an over-desire to keep all Parties, that instead of securing a Friend they entail on themselves a certain Enemy, and become the Object of the Victor's next Conquest. The Case is truly to be lamented when obliged to this hazardous Fate, either to sink or swim with one of the contending Parties, or else to be exposed to be crushed for standing by Spectator, instead of being useful to facilitate the Conqueror's end.

It

It may in some Cases be said, That those that are not against us are for us ; yet it is not always so taken, for Occasions for Quarrel are usually grounded from denying seasonable Assistances.

And the Truth is, Neuters are seldom counted otherwise than Enemies to both Parties, since for not siding with neither Party they are sure to have one for Enemy ; though their Condition at present is sweet, yet like the Book given to eat was luscious in the Mouth, but prov'd bitter in the Belly ; yet however evenly Neuters may carry it, there will be always secretly something of an Inclination to one side more than to the other.

It

It is to be confessed that sometimes a Prince is obliged in point of Honour to stand still, and not assist those whom, according to his Inclinations, he may be byassed to appear in their Favour; and such may be the Case, that Honour and Gratitude hath tyed his Hands so, that he cannot but stand Neuter.

It concerns those who find themselves thus hampered to carry evenly, and to use Prudence and Temper in so ticklish an Affair, waving all secret Tendencies that may be had to one more than to the other, that things be so managed that each Party be satisfied, and please themselves with this Belief, that if byassed on any side, it is of theirs.

To

To hinder Neutrality is as impossible, as it is for some to avoid the Shame and Danger they incur thereby. There are also such that desire to stand Spectators, that they may the better see which way the Game will go: There are those that will condemn with an artificial Grimace the Rupture made, censuring the one as well as the other, as wanting Foresight and Moderation, though it may be themselves have been the secret Incendiaries: Such Reflections surely were the Cause that the *Romans* would never allow any to be Neuters, but they must either make themselves declared Friends, or be proclaimed publick Enemies.

It

It is confessed that those that are Neuters, while in that State, seem to have the Advantage of the upper and neather Springs to enrich themselves, while their Neighbours are exhausting each other; but to hold the Scale so even requires Art, and may be of great Advantage, if they can perform officious Favours that are allowable to one, yet inoffensive to another, and so obliging in Deportment to both, that may give occasion to say, these are the Neuters, that neither lose their Friends, nor procure to themselves Enemies.

Of G E R M A N Y; *its*
Strength and Power.

Germany is a vast Body composed of many Provinces, and replenished with a Warlike, Strong-bodied People: It lies in the Heart of *Europe*, and looks upon the rest of his Neighbours with Disdain, as so many lopped off Members, and *Upstart Powers*, its Haughtiness will not allow a Corrival; though its Fate be such, that it hath for Emulator *France*, between whom great Contest hath been for Empire, they being the two most transcendent Powers of *Europe*, who give Peace or War to their Neigh-
R bours,

bours, and are the two Rivals for Empire, who for Ages have had Contests to the alarming all *Europe*, who were glad to take their Measures according to their Rise, or Fall, ever labouring to support the sinking State of the Decliner.

Had *Germany* the same Advantage that attends *France*, of being under one absolute Sovereign, it needed only its own Strength to support its Grandeur; but where there are many Heads, there the Feet are uneasy; neither can that Country be rich, where the Commonality is kept at under; which Grievance, if remedied in *Germany*, that Country would be richer, and the People more easy. It is to be wished, That the Condition

dition of those who labour under such Difficulties, were made more tolerable.

In times past *Germany* was the *Romans* Terror, but since the Seat of Empire hath been transferred to that Warlike People, who are the Bulwork of *Europe*, and the *Turks* Dread, who but for them might long since have overrun all *Europe*.

Did this great Continent know how its Strength consists in the Union of its Parts, it would be no less a Terror to *Europe*, than if under one Sovereign; for *Germany* hath all the Advantages for War within it self, beyond any Nation in the World; what in respect of its great Numbers of Men, Arms, and Horse, with their long Expe-

rience from many Ages, and natural Disposition to War, that even Nature seemeth to have cut them out for that purpose, having given them strong brawny Bodies capable to indure Hardships; who are also bold, courageous, and fearless in Danger. *Cornelius Tacitus* tells us in his 13th Book, That no Nation exceeds the *Germans* in Warlike Exploits, and downright Honesty. They are Lovers of Honour, and have had since many Ages, the Character of a most Noble and Heroick People. They were *Rome's* Plague, and gave that Mistress of the World more Disquiet for many Centuries than the *Carthaginians*, or any other of her Enemies.

They

They have within themselves the Sinews of War, *viz.* Mines of Gold and Silver, and other Minerals, with all necessary Munitions for Men and Horfe. And what is most admirable is, That notwithstanding their many Discouragements, yet they persist unweariedly in supporting their Miseries, even for thirty Years together, and that in their own Bowels; which had they been united, they might with much more Advantage to themselves have directed their Strength against their common Enemy the *Turk*, or his Confederate, though the latter be the more formidable for Situation, Strength and Discipline. And though upon extraordinary Occasions they

have called to their Assistance the Northern Crowns, who for that Reason may be stiled the *Germans* little *Tartars*, yet probably that they were called to Assistance, was more Policy, than Necessity. For it is not only the Commonalty of *Germany*, but the Nobility, and their Princes also, have at all times been renowned for War, having never wanted occasion to signalize themselves, either through the Differences that arose among themselves, or from what Work was cut out for them by these two formidable Powers the *Turk* and *France*, between whom they are seated; the latter following his Ancestor's Steps, who ever opposed the *Austrian* Family, as having a

a

a Jealousy of its Greatness, so used Means to foment a Suspicion of the Growth of that Power, lest it should swallow all like a common Inundation; for which end, to keep it under, Leagues were contracted with the *Turks*. Thus did *Francis* the *French* King enter into League with *Solyman*, and under pretence to save himself, he pleaded Necessity, seeing that the *Netherlands*, *Spain*, and part of *Italy*, became so many Members of its Greatness, which were the Pretences with which he varnished over his so unchristian-like Policy of joining with Infidels, to shelter himself from a supposed Danger; however, it is this Confederacy, and the Fears thereof, that

have restrained *Germany* from putting in execution those great Designs it had framed.

Also *Henry* the Son of the said *Francis* followed the same Methods, who by such Leagues indeavoured to divert the *German* Arms. And this present King, though for a different end, doth the same; for he knoweth that to keep his Subject's active Spirits busied abroad, is the way to prevent their looking for Matter to work on at home; for his Subjects being numerous and poor, and the Nobility many, he finds ways to give them Employment, and by keeping them low, their Fortunes depend on their Sword, and the King's Favour, who having in his Hands the absolute
Go-

Government of Persons, and disposal of Estates, he is capacitated thereby arbitrarily to take such Measures as may best answer his Ends; and having these Advantages above his Neighbours, it is no wonder that his Dominions and Power is increased as it is at this Day, which has given him occasion to let the World know the Native and Intrinsick Strength of *France*, which till this King's Reign was not known, no not to it self.

But what Satisfaction and Honour can oppressed Subjects have to see their number of Slaves is increased? Can Conquests be due, where Acquests are made by Breach of Faith? Surely those Coun-

Countries that are taken illegitimately, ought to have another Name given them than that of Conquests. It may be said of some, That they are to *Europe*, what *Hannibal* was once said to be to *Rome*, and *Scipio* to *Carthage*, that they were their Hammer, and Scourge.

It is to be lamented, That Christians cannot be content with those Boundaries that God and Nature seems to have assigned them, but they must make Incroachments. Is not the *Turk* an Enemy sufficient to bandy against? but that there must be found out Pretences to cloak ambitious Ends, to join in Confederacy with him. It were to be desired rather, that all
Chri-

Christian Powers would join as *One* against that so common Enemy the *Turk*, of whom it may be said with much more Justice what was spoke of *Antony*, That he delighted to Mangle, Murther, and Wallow in the Blood of *Innocents*. How can Christian Princes so long indure that Power to reign, that holds their Christian Brethren in the Chains of Servitude? Would *France* join in this so good a Work, or at least stand Neuter, the Controversy would soon be decided; but that great Prince is so intent on the accumulating Trophies of Honour, and aggrandizing his Fame and Dominions, that there seems not room left for any other Thoughts

Thoughts to take place, than
what tends to the gratifying
that his so aspiring a Passion
for Glory.

MAXIMS.

MAXIMS.

NOne without just Provocation, and Reasons drawn from a good Cause, should enter into open Hostility.

To seek Peace by War, is like Angling for Fish with a golden Hook.

When Ambition is the Foundation of War, Success may be doubted.

Those necessitated to defend themselves, may more reasonably expect Success than the Aggressor.

Hasty Enterprizes are repented of at leisure.

A

A General hath not only to contend with Men, but with Contingencies, as Want, Hunger, and Discontent, which are Enemies hardly to be vanquished.

It is safer to build on prudent Measures, than on Fortune.

He that hazards least, plays the safest Game.

It is better to defend a Country by Justice, than to conquer one by Force.

By Circumspection in Peace the Disasters of War may be escaped.

The noblest Conquest is where Love and good Offices obtain the Victory.

He conquers that doth good Offices, and those are vanquished which receive them.

He

He that defends his Country by the Sword deserves Honour, but he that maintains it in Peace deserves more.

Good Counfel and Intelligence is sometimes of more use than Arms.

War seldom answers the proposed end.

Purchase Peace with Money, rather than acquire it by a long War.

An Enemy is not to be contemned.

The Conqueror ought not to refuse Proposals of Peace.

Enemies ought not to be slighted, tho' few in number.

Contempt had of an Enemies Strength or Merit, should not cause Security.

Tho'

Tho' an Enemy be weak in Power, yet is he not to be undervalued, for an animated Atome may incommode the stoutest Man.

A desperate Enemy is not easily beaten.

Enemies in Despair are to be feared, though they are inferiour in number.

Necessity hath no Law; when compelled to Action to stand deliberating then is out of doors, there being only a Presence of Mind required, which being backed with Resolution, the Undaunted, in the midst of Discouragements, doth dare boldly aspire to Victory.

Disgrace is augmented if overcome by a lessened Enemy, and no Honour is gained by such a Victory; therefore

fore despise not an Adversary, least you increase your Shame if overcome by him, or lose that Honour which might have been gained by Conquest; which are necessary Consequences.

Know an Enemy before thou despise him.

He that feareth not an Enemy knows not what War is.

Prudence is necessary in undertaking, and Resolution in execution.

Preparations secure a lasting Peace, and make way for Victory.

Never use Arms where you can conquer with Money.

Overcome your Enemy by Policy rather than Fight.

When an Enemy cannot be opposed, then tolerable
S Con-

Conditions of Peace are welcome.

To penetrate the Designs of an Enemy is a Mark of a piercing Capacity, but to conceal our own is to excell in Prudence.

Wise Parlies do sometimes more than armed Forces.

He that will not hear Reason is not fit to reign.

That Prince deserves to reign long, whose good Actions exceed his Works.

He that hath no Friend, cannot be said to reign.

Vice make Princes odious, when the meanest Man is made honourable by Virtue.

Those that excell not in Virtue, deserve not to command.

Good Actions recommend more than Riches.

Ex-

Examples of Virtue are of greater efficacy than Instructions.

A good Opinion is of more use than Riches.

He that will be esteemed must always do well.

A Kingdom may be thought invincible, when Immoralities are banished.

A Prince ought to be armed against all Accidents.

One may begin a War, but the Victorious only can end it.

A prudent Jealousie is a commendable Qualification, the excess is of ill consequence.

That Prince may do what he pleases, when he wills nothing but what he ought.

That Prince that compasses his ends by Treaty, deserves

S 2 more

more Honour than he that overcomes by Battel.

Where, a Prince hath lost his Authority, there Obedience cannot be expected.

Revenge is not laudable in a Chief, and often is the cause of fatal Consequences.

A good Prince makes good Subjects.

A Friend in an Enemies Council, is more advantagious than thousands in the Field.

All Contests, like Cockatrices Eggs, are to be crush'd in the Shell.

Opprobrious Words may incense, but not beat an Enemy.

Let a Door be open for a desperate Enemy to enter, either by Composition or Quarter.

Severity as well as Clemency are prejudicial, and may excite Rebellion.

Enemies are not to be insulted, nor triumph'd over.

Let your Enemies arming cause you to arm.

Use as Friends those you would make yours, for Fire and Sword doth but quicken Resistance.

Some profit by Differences fomented among Neighbouring Princes.

Small Shrubs by bending weather a Storm, when great sturdy Oaks are torn up by the Roots.

There is neither Prudence nor Profit in being of too open a Conduct.

Great Souls, like Rocks, are immoveable.

There is no Policy in having more Enemies than one at once.

Expose not to hazard more than what cannot be avoided.

Right Intelligence is requisite, as well in reference to ones own, as the Enemies Strength.

Set a good Face on a bad Matter, in the greatest Exigencies shew Courage and Constancy.

To be first ready is advantageous.

Ambition and Coveteousness break Leagues and awaken War.

Fortune sporteth it self in making great little, and little great.

To boast over an *Enemy* is insulting, and provokes to Infurrection. Where

Where Want reigns, no Discipline is observed.

The Commonalty is more prompt to Rebellion, than Battel; and apter to Talk, than Fight.

It is the Bane of Armies when Quality, and not Merit, are the Foundation of Preferment.

Trust not where you have been deceived.

It is needless to declare War against those prone to it from former Successes.

Breakers of honest Confederacies deserve Censure.

He is in the wrong that gives the Cause of War, not he that seeks Redress.

Delays in Danger are the Mother of insuing Evils.

Failings of Superiours make

S 4

them

them in the *Eyes* of Inferiours contemptible.

Well-weigh'd Counfel seldom fails.

There is a happy Minute more worth, than all the Policies of War.

Fortune is no where so inconstant, as in War.

One Hours Distaster may overthrow the Honour gotten, and ruin future Expectations.

Faults in War are irreparable.

Though Money be the Sinews of War, yet by Science, Prudence, and Personal Valour, Victory is obtained.

Success is not to be expected where Money is scant, and Enemies abound.

He that gets by Conquest
doth

doth much , but he that can keep what he hath gotten doth more.

Numbers are little available where Fear reigns.

The Captain's end should be Glory, not to be a Scourge, seeking by Conquest to build up, not to confound.

Those that are unfaithful to their own Interest, will not be true to anothers.

Awe makes Tyrants obeyed, and Love Soveraigns.

Many Things are lost for not being attempted.

Courage and Courtesie are great Ornaments to a Captain.

As Rewards are necessary, so are Chastisements.

A Captain ought to be diligent, watchful, and of a resolute Spirit ; wise to command,

mand, liberal to reward, and valiant to defend.

Happy is that Country where Men of Merit are not discouraged, and where Favours are not ill placed.

It is Valour's Badge neither to fear, nor to be too confident.

Fortune never waits on the Fearful.

Fear stifles generous Undertakings in their birth.

Fear is honourable when it proceeds not from a personal Concern, but for the welfare of the whole.

Tameness in Officers is a Discouragement, and causes Deserters.

Nothing unarms a People like Effeminacy, Lust, Pleasure, and Idleness.

For-

Fortune and Prudence are
usually Companions.

He that is feared by many,
hath reason to fear many.

He hurts the Good that
spares the Ill.

Though a Wound may be
cured, yet the Scar remains.

No Danger is overcome
without Danger.

Despair sets on edge Cour-
age, and makes Cowards va-
liant, and spirits them in
Combat.

The Effects of Despair are
surprising, and have the
same product which true
Courage hath in others.

Great Souls are capable of
great Things; and if Power
be annexed, then may be
reasonably expected great Per-
formances.

The

The Soldier should not only be daring, and bold, but have also a Faculty of contriving; for Invention is as necessary as Valour.

It is not safe to Disband Forces, while the Enemies are on foot.

When an Enemy is secure, then attack him.

Let the Intelligence of your Enemies Motions be at hand, tho' they be far off.

Early inure an Army to Hardships, before Necessity reduces them to it.

Let Courage increase with Danger; for by losing the one, you hazard all.

It is necessary in Officers to have a natural Propensity to great Actions.

To stand the Enemies first Fury is the way to overcome.

For-

Fortresses should be Nurseries to undisciplined Soldiers.

The more Enemies the more Honour.

Cowards have Lyons Mouths, but Hearts like Hares.

A prudent Retreat is as honourable as a Victory.

Spend not time in Plunder till the Work is done.

The Generous will not be discouraged, tho' their Merit meets not with due Applause.

He deserves not the Name of Victor, that conquers basely.

Generosity is never so commendable, as when exercised towards an Enemy.

Victory moderated by Prudence, is splendid and safe.

The

The falling on the Spoil
hath often been the Bane of
Armies.

To be sedate in a Hurry,
and calm in Confusion, to
preserve a Presence of Mind
in the greatest Exigencies,
are necessary Requisites in a
General.

Disciplined Soldiers, with-
out good Officers, will not
answer the end.

Temerity is seldom suc-
cessful; but upon necessity
Boldness exceeds Counsel.

Incounter not Enemies in
their height of Fury.

Those have gained Honour
from the want of Courage in
an Adversary, that else would
have had Disgrace.

Ill use is made of Victory
when none is spared.

Old *Veteran* Troops ought not to be chosen for desperate Enterprizes , but young Years, and boiling Youth, who have no Thought but that of Success and Glory.

He that hath most Courage is least cruel.

Private Men should have publick Marks of Honour, as a President to incite others to desire that their Heads may be crown'd with such Laurels.

There may be as great Cruelty in sparing all, as to spare none.

Victory should not thirst after Blood, nor be cruel to obtain it.

What Power and Policy cannot bring about, Gold may effect.

The

The Question ought rather to be where the *Enemies* are, than how many, least it give to think that Fear, rather than Valour, made the Query.

The Sword dispatches quickly, but Fear strikes down like Thunder.

He is soonest hurt, who feareth most.

Great Souls, in glorious Enterprises, have no sense of Danger.

The more Danger the more Glory.

The Foundation of Military Knowledge should be laid even from Youth.

The time for Battel is, when Men are most spirited for Action.

An Army kept idle degenerates, and are troublesome

some Guests where quartered.

Never be confident of Victory, nor yet despair of Success.

Intestine Animosities ruin the greatest Bodies.

Aim at Numbers, but trust not in them.

Courage makes all Enterprizes easy.

Delays may turn the Scales, so that the Conqueror may become the Conquered.

It is an unprofitable Victory that is obtained by the Ruin of ones own Country.

That Victory is not perfect where the Heart is not made Captive as well as the Body.

To overcome by Clemency is more honourable, than to subdue by the Sword.

Courage is shown more in the choice to die free, than to suffer a languishing Captivity in an Enemies Country.

An unlimited Power is of great use to capacitate the General to do great Things, which he that waits for Orders cannot effect.

There is Incouragement to attempt a Siege, when the Governour is known to be capable of being corrupted.

The Knowledge of a Gar-risons being over-stored, may as soon draw on a Siege, as when its Wants are discovered.

Palliate Disgraces, and call Flights Retreats.

Let Spies be rather your Enemies Subjects than your own.

Spies

Spies are the Generals Ferrets which are gained by Money, and preserved by Hope.

Fortified Places, Armies and Fleets, are vain Things, when God lends not a Hand.

Perjury calls for Judgment, but more eminently when found in Princes.

He that can turn Revenge into Mercy, and Hatred into Love, is Praise-worthy.

A mean spirited Prince is rather the Object of Contempt than Fear.

Religion is the usual Cloak for Rebellion.

Furious Spirits are seldom appeased by soft Words, nor Submissions.

It is best for Princes to judge only according to Equi-

ty, to do nothing but what is expedient, and labour not so much to shew their Authority, as their Justice.

Vindicative Spirits are their own Tormenters.

No Game is too great for Lookers on, say Neuters.

Greatness and Care are Twins.

Sovereigns are Judges here, yet they are judged themselves, and arraigned at the Tribunal of every private Mans Censure.

Though Sovereigns are Gods on Earth, yet they see and hear with others Eyes, and Ears, and are obliged accordingly to take Measures.

The Wise proceed to Action with Caution, but the Unexperienced are rash in their Enterprizes.

Some

Sometimes Temerity is of more Use, and a greater Advantage, than more prudent Measures.

The General's Staff is an Ornament, but it loads as well as it adorns.

The Enemies Quarters are easilier beat up and surprized, when their Distances have made them secure.

Let Ambushes be a Secret, least the being circumvented make that your Grave, that was designed for the place of Victory.

The Wise never wonder, nor are surprized, for nothing happens to them, but what they expected, and are armed for its reception.

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